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THE MYCENAE TABLETS II

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EDITED BY
EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
ALAN J. B. WACE AND ELIZABETH B. WACE

TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY BY
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

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NEW SERIES—VOLUME 48, PART 1
1958

THE MYCENAE TABLETS II

Edited by
EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.
Yale University

With an Introduction by
ALAN J. B. WACE AND ELIZABETH B. WACE

Translations and Commentary by
JOHN CHADWICK

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA 6

MARCH, 1958

To
MICHAEL VENTRIS

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PREFACE

The excavators of Mycenae added in 1953 and 1954 important new materials to the small but excellent archives of Mycenae. It was primarily to publish these that the present edition of the Mycenaean texts from Mycenae was undertaken, and the original plan was simply to compose a supplement to *The Mycenae Tablets*. However, the fact that the script in which they are written has been deciphered since the edition of the texts of 1950 and 1952 has made it seem imperative to present them again in fuller form. This expansion of our plan to provide a new edition of the whole Mycenae corpus is made possible largely through the indulgence of the American Philosophical Society in publishing it, through the kindness of Professor Alan and Miss Elizabeth Wace in writing and rewriting the Introduction, and through the generosity of John Chadwick in patiently awaiting this late appearance of his Translations and Commentary.

I am very conscious of the privilege which has been mine in first publishing the Mycenaean inscriptions both of Pylos and of Mycenae, and of the responsibilities attached thereto. One such responsibility is for a promptness of publication such as is in fact rarely attained, despite the patient impatience of those scholars who desire to and should know these inscriptions as soon as possible, and despite my own wishes not only to be through the task of editing them, but even more to make these interesting texts generally available for study. Yet a second responsibility often opposes the first, the responsibility for an accurate edition, which will not lead astray those who use it, and which will provide the reader with all such reasonable assistance as one who has seen and studied the original documents can provide. These are my responsibilities; I am all too conscious that I have done neither of them full justice. Yet when this is read, "publication," if not "promptness of," will have been achieved, and the opportunity to present both photographs and drawings, both copies and transliterations, both partial translations and commentaries, will limit the possibility of the editor's errors escaping notice.

I must confess that I have not myself examined all the inscriptions here published, nor have I been able to re-examine several whose readings remain doubtful. I have fortunately been able to examine at least once all the texts found in 1953 and 1954, but I have not yet seen those of 1952. I therefore rely heavily on those who have seen them, and on the photographs. Michael Ventris examined them in 1954 and again in 1955, and most kindly and promptly provided me with copies of his readings and his comments. I have carefully considered them, adopting them where I had clearly gone astray, and rejecting the few in which the photograph, or my limited autopsy, or the observation of parallels and analogies strongly suggested another. Where I had not been able to convince him in correspondence of the superiority of my reading and in other places in which the variant reading, though since rejected by both of us, might be instructive of the difficulties in the texts, I have retained it in the apparatus.

The British Excavations at Mycenae 1950–1955 under the direction of Professor Alan Wace have been supported by research grants from the American Philosophical Society, Bollingen Foundation, the Leverhulme Trustees, the British Academy, the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the British School of Archaeology at Athens under whose aegis the work was carried out. The Greek Ministry of Education most courteously granted the necessary permit for the excavations, and the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of Professor Orlandos and Professor Marinatos has always generously given every possible help. The excavators are specially indebted to Dr. Papademetriou who was then engaged with Professor George Mylonas in excavating the newly found Grave Circle outside the Cyclopean walls and to Mr. Ph. Petsas. The late Mr. A. Svokos, then Nomarch of Argolis, took an active interest in the excavations and all the Greek civil and police authorities gave most friendly assistance at all times. The successive Directors of the British School at Athens, Mr. J. M. Cook and Mr. M. S. F. Hood, and Mrs. Rabnett, Secretary of the School, gave most helpful support in all matters. Mr. J. L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, Professor Homer Thompson of the Agora Excavations, and Miss Alison Frantz gave much unselfish help.

The House of the Oil Merchant was excavated by Miss Margaret Dow, the House of Shields by Miss Linda Witherill and Mr. T. L. Shear, Jr., and the House of Sphinxes by Miss Elizabeth Wace. Their notebooks have been drawn upon for all relevant information and Miss Wace has herself written the account of the House of Sphinxes. Throughout the excavations Orestes Dases of Mycenae was foreman and Arghyris Marines was technician.

In addition to the tablets from the three houses, the House of Shields, the House of the Oil Merchant, and the House of Sphinxes, and to that found by Mr. Petsas [1] there are collected here all the inscriptions on seal impressions or on vases which have so far been found at Mycenae. The vase inscriptions all with the exception of Z 207 appear to be from stirrup jars like the well-known inscriptions on stirrup jars from Tiryns, Thebes, Orchomenos, and Eleusis.[2] There are also in-

[1] Πρακτικά, 1950: 215, fig. 18.

[2] Pugliese Carratelli, Le Iscrizioni preelleniche di Haghia Triada in Creta e della Grecia peninsulare, *MonAnt* **40**: 603–610, pls. XXX–L, 1945.

cluded the inscriptions on various objects of stone which have been discovered at Mycenae.

For the privilege of publishing the texts of the Mycenae tablets, I am again most grateful to Professor Wace; for their parts in this edition, to Miss Wace and to John Chadwick; and for undertaking its publication, to the American Philosophical Society.

I record my greatest debt last of all, that I may make this edition of the Mycenae tablets my principal offering to the memory of Michael Ventris. The Mycenae tablets, in their physical form as in their content of information, bear the indelible impress of his work. He handled many of the fragments newly taken from the ground in 1954, he joined their broken pieces, he copied their texts, he first recognized their content and understood their significance. Finally it is through his great work of decipherment that their reading, and the reading of all of Mycenaean writing, has become the gateway to a whole new field of science.

A further loss to Mycenaean scholarship must now be recorded here, the death of Professor Wace in Athens, November 9, 1957. His direct contribution to this edition of the Mycenae tablets may be counted as complete, for he had read and corrected the proofs of his introduction. Yet the greater part of his contribution is intangible and not to be measured, whether by the introduction, or by the improvements which are due to his advice and criticism at many points in the text and commentary. His part in the beginnings of the interpretation of the Mycenaean texts and the study of their relationship to the whole of Greek history will not be forgotten.

E. L. B

THE MYCENAE TABLETS II

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INTRODUCTION

1. THE DISCOVERY OF THE TABLETS

(See the plan, fig. 1)

The first tablet discovered at Mycenae inscribed in the Mycenaean Linear B Script was found by Mr. Petsas [1] in 1950 on the slope above and a little to the south of the house with storerooms full of painted pottery which Dr. Papademetriou and he were then excavating. That same year we began the excavation of the terrace southwest of the "Tomb of Clytemnestra" where we have cleared three houses known now as the House of Shields, the House of the Oil Merchant, and the House of Sphinxes (fig. 8). In the House of the Oil Merchant was a storeroom full of pithoi and in the corridor outside its entrance had stood a series of thirty large stirrup jars. The spouts of many of these were still sealed with clay caps marked with the impressions of signets and many of the jars, from the oily condition of their fabric, showed clearly that they had contained oil. In reporting [2] these discoveries I then ventured to prophesy that the complete excavation of the house might bring to light clay tablets inscribed with the records of its owner. The continuation of the excavation in 1952 justified this prophecy. In Room 1 in the northeast corner behind a pithos was found a tablet, Fo101, bearing a commodity sign which has since been identified as referring to olive oil.[3] The presence of this tablet in the oil storage room is parallel to the presence of tablets in the storeroom with pithoi behind the megaron at Pylos.[4] Further excavation of the house yielded from the eastern part of Room 2 thirty-seven more tablets. This discovery led us to hope that the excavation of the houses to the north and south of the House of the Oil Merchant would produce yet other tablets. In 1953 an inscribed tablet was found in the southern part of the West Room of the northern house, the House of Shields, and inscribed seal impressions were found in the doorway of Room 1 of the House of Sphinxes to the south. Finally in 1954 in Room 6 of the House of Sphinxes were found nine more inscribed tablets among debris which had probably fallen from the upper floor when the house was destroyed by fire.

A. J. B. W.

2. THE RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS OF MYCENAE

The House of the Oil Merchant and the House of Sphinxes were clearly well-built private houses with extensive basements and well-furnished upper floors. The House of Shields does not seem to have been a residence, but to have been used for some other purpose. It has no basement, but obviously had a well-equipped upper floor.

The discovery in these houses of tablets inscribed in the Mycenaean Linear B Script has led some scholars to describe them as "appendages of the royal administration." [5] The assumption is apparently that since the

Abbreviations: *A.J.A.—American Journal of Archaeology; B.S.A.—Annual of the British School at Athens; J.H.S.—Journal of Hellenic Studies; Praktika*—Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.

[1] *Praktika* 1950: 215.

[2] *J.H.S.* **71**: 257, 1951.

[3] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 217 f., Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1956.

[4] *A.J.A.* **60**: 98, 1956.

[5] E.g., M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 110. Some, misled by the name "House of the Oil Merchant," have called these houses shops, e.g., F. Schachermeyr, *Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands*, 251, Stuttgart, 1955.

bulk of the Linear B tablets has been found in the palaces at Knossos and Pylos every building in which tablets are found must have some royal connection. We might equally argue that since no inscribed tablets were found at Tiryns the "palace" there cannot be a palace. There is no valid reason why citizens, merchants and the like, and nobles should not have been able to read and write. The number of inscribed stirrup jars indicates that more people must have been able to read and write than has been assumed. It would be useless to inscribe stirrup jars if those who handled them could not read what was written on them. More people than a restricted class were presumably able to write and to read. We can assume that a considerable proportion of the people of Mycenae could write and read and not merely the official and upper or middle class. In addition to the officials and administrators and tax gatherers wealthy persons, merchants, traders and the like probably kept accounts and correspondence. So the Mycenaeans must have been far more literate than has been imagined, and enjoyed a relatively high state of culture. We can believe that correspondence and accounts, both official and private, would have been kept on tablets. Records such as lists of kings or annals may well have been inscribed on tablets also. Literature, however, is another matter. There was probably nothing in the way of history, and long poems, heroic ballads or epic, would have been oral. Recent research has shown that Homer depends on an oral tradition. Short poems may have been written, but they could be memorized and it would not have been necessary to inscribe them on clay tablets, although songs or hymns in honor of the gods may have been so preserved.

Long ago Tsountas[6] expressed the opinion that the civilian population of Mycenae lived outside the citadel, which was the castle of the king and the seat of his power and administration, in "groups of dwellings or little villages pitched wherever convenient sites invited." He believed too that each group may have been inhabited by a single clan and had its adjacent cemetery. Recent exploration outside the citadel has fully justified this view. We now have several groups of houses well outside the protection of the Cyclopean walls. Directly northwest or west of the Lion Gate are Petsas' House and the House of the Wine Merchant (the complex south of the Cyclopean Terrace Building) explored by us[7] and this group of the House of the Oil Merchant and its neighbors. Another group is at the southern end of the ridge above the Treasury of Atreus[8] with an extensive cemetery on its eastern, southern, and western slopes. Other groups were apparently on the Kalkani Hill and by the Epano Phournos beehive tomb and these also have cemeteries in close proximity. It is also to be noticed that near each group there was a good supply of water. The House of Lead on the Atreus Ridge and Petsas' House were large, well-furnished houses and we need not suppose that they too were appendages or adjuncts of the administration. Not every big house in London is, like Somerset House, an appendage of the administration though recent social changes have caused Devonshire House and Lansdowne House to cease to be private residences of nobles. Moreover, as already stated, there is no reason to assume that private citizens of Mycenae were unable to read and write. In fact the tablets from the House of the Oil Merchant according to Dr. Bennett's study of them show that they were written by six different "hands." This should give us some idea of the state of literacy in the population. In any case the discoveries in these three houses and also Mr. Petsas' tablet give us every hope that the excavation of more houses at Mycenae may well lead to the finding of yet more tablets.

The tablets seem to have been kept on the upper floors of the houses and to have fallen with the burning debris into the basements when the houses were burnt. The destruction of the houses by fire which has ruined so much has preserved the tablets by baking them. On the other hand the ruins of the houses have been much disturbed since their destruction. In the Early Iron Age graves were dug into the mounds of burnt rubbish. Later in the Hellenistic Age other houses were constructed above the piles of debris and caused the loss of much. The Hellenistic latrine which was built above Room 6 of the House of Sphinxes probably destroyed other tablets in the burnt debris of the upper story.

A. J. B. W.

3. THE SETTING

The three houses (see the plans, figs. 1–5) in which the tablets inscribed in the Mycenaean Linear B Script have been found stand on a terrace on the hillside a little to the southwest of the "Tomb of Clytemnestra." The terrace is supported on the east by a wall built in the Cyclopean manner (fig. 8). On the west it is cut back into the sloping rock which rises towards the west and where necessary the level of the terrace has been made up by a fill of stones and earth thrown in behind the Cyclopean wall. It seems probable that the ancient roadway leading up to the Lion Gate passed in front of the terrace, that is to say immediately to its east. From thence the roadway would have run past the entrances to the dromoi of the "Tomb of Clytemnestra" and of the "Tomb of Aegisthus." From there it would have zigzagged up the hillside resting on terrace walls still visible until at last it passed close under the northwest corner of the bastion of the Lion Gate and so turned into the court before the gate. Such an approach to the Lion Gate is paralleled by the ancient approach to

[6] Ch. Tsountas and J. I. Manatt, *The Mycenaean age*, 33, Boston, 1897.

[7] *B.S.A.* **49**: 267 ff., 1954.

[8] *B.S.A.* **51**: 103, 121 f., 1956.

the Acropolis of Athens [9] where the roadway seems also to have zigzagged close under the Nike bastion on the right or shieldless side of possible enemies.

Of the three buildings so far excavated on this terrace the two southern were certainly large private houses with extensive basements. They were probably the residences of wealthy merchants or nobles. The existence of rich private houses in this position well away from any protection that could be afforded by the citadel indicates that at the time when the houses were built Mycenae enjoyed not only great prosperity but also profound peace. There was clearly no fear of raids by pirates or of invasions by land. The houses seem to have been built during the period of L.H. III B pottery, for that style has been found in all three of them. Beneath the floors of the House of Shields and of the House of the Oil Merchant earlier ware has been found. In the debris above the ruined houses L.H. III C pottery appears and so we may conclude that they were destroyed before that style came into use. Since within the Citadel [10] in the Granary and in the Palace and in other buildings such as the South House L.H. III C pottery has been found, we may assume that the acropolis of Mycenae was not destroyed until some time later when that type of pottery, L.H. III C, had come into fashion.[11] It appears too that the other houses outside the Citadel were also destroyed before the end of the L.H. III B period. The chronological and historical implications of these facts will have to be resolved by further study and excavation. In any case these three houses seem certainly to have flourished in the later part of the L.H. III B period. That period is the date of the tablets and according to present ideas it would have been not later than the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.

A. J. B. W.

4. THE HOUSE OF SHIELDS

The House of Shields (see throughout the plan, fig. 3) seems to have consisted of three main rooms, an East Room about seventeen meters long and five and a half meters wide, a West Room of approximately the same dimensions, and a North Room about five and a half meters long and about eleven and a half meters wide. The East and West Rooms lie side by side on an artificial terrace supported on the east and south by heavy cyclopean walls. The rock rises immediately outside the west wall of the West Room and also immediately outside the north wall of the two rooms, both the East and the West. Thus apparently the purpose of the cyclopean walls on the east and south was to create an extension of the rock terrace on which the North Room is founded, so that there should be ground enough for the three-roomed building which was planned.

The East and West Rooms have no obvious entrances from the east, south, or west and therefore we must assume that they were entered from the north. In the north wall of the West Room there is a break at its east end (A on the plan) and in the north wall of the East Room there again seems to be a break at its east end (B on the plan). When we look at what is preserved of the north wall of the North Room we observe that there is a break in it (C on the plan) placed almost symmetrically with the break A at the east end of the north wall of the West Room. Similarly there seems to be a break at the east end (D on the plan) of the north wall of the North Room corresponding to the break B in the north wall of the East Room at its east end. We should thus have a three-roomed building with two long rooms side by side though apparently not communicating with one another. Across their northern ends lay another room which gave access to the East and West Rooms by doors A and B set at the east ends of their north walls. In the north wall of the North Room there were two entrances C and D in positions corresponding to those of the entrances in the north walls of the East and West Rooms.

The walls seem to have been constructed in the usual Mycenaean manner with crude brick strengthened by a timber framework set on a solid stone foundation. Ample traces of this survive especially at the north end of the West Room (fig. 9). There was probably an upper story, but there are no signs of a staircase or of any means of approach to it. The disturbance of the ruins after the destruction of the building by fire has obscured or destroyed much. Not only were Proto-Geometric and Geometric graves [12] dug into the ruins but the whole area was overbuilt by Hellenistic constructions, now represented by fragmentary cement floors and broken walls. One of the floors outside the south end of the West Room seems to have been a latrine with a cesspit below like the latrine in the House of Sphinxes. Finally in modern times the site had been cultivated and also a path for tourists to reach the "Tomb of Clytemnestra" had been trodden across the field. The building of the modern road has encroached on the west side along which the Tourismos Service has planted a row of oleanders. As a result of all this disturbance the floor of the East Room has disappeared and that of the West Room been much damaged. Thus in the East Room nothing was found. On the other hand in the West Room important finds were made. The floor of the West Room of beaten clay lies about 1.50 m. below the original surface which was of course not level but sloped steadily down from west to east. All over the floor was a layer of black earth nowhere more than 0.50 m. thick. Above this was a layer of burnt debris con-

[9] G. Stevens, *Hesperia* **15**: 75, fig. 2, 1946.

[10] *B.S.A.* **25**: 38 f., 1921–1923; **50**: 177, 1955; **51**: 105, 1956.

[11] See my paper, The last days of Mycenae, in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman,* 126 ff., Locust Valley, N. Y., 1956.

[12] *B.S.A.* **49**: 259 f., 1954; **50**: 239 ff., 1955.

sisting of decomposed crude brick and other rubbish. Over this lay the surface humus which again was not level and was in general about 0.40 m. deep. The deposit of black earth lying over the floor was deepest against the west wall of the West Room along which runs a bench of clay on a stone base about 0.40 m. high and about 0.40 m. wide. The deposit as it runs eastwards over the floor gradually thinned out and ended against the north-south wall that separates the two rooms. This same deposit was also found in the western part of the North Room but it was much thinner, being nowhere more than 0.30 m. thick. It lay on the rock and gradually disappeared towards the east. On the west it began at the foot of the clay bench which continued along the west wall of the North Room.

In this black deposit we found a large number of pieces of carved ivory[13] much broken and burnt. Among them figure-of-eight shields are prominent, so prominent that they have given the house its name. There are plaques carved with lions which probably once decorated the lid and sides of a small box or casket (figs. 15, 16). There are pieces probably once inlaid in wooden furniture representing murex shells, dolphins, lily flowers, boar's tusk helmets, heads wearing boar's tusk helmets and most of the well-known Mycenaean ornamental motives such as spirals, ivy leaves, and the so-called triglyph pattern (figs. 11–14). There are ivory plaques decorated with figure-of-eight shields, probably also parts of a small box or casket (fig. 17). The amount of ivory inlay found in this deposit which seems to represent the burnt ruins of the upper storey suggests that the house was equipped with wooden furniture decorated like that in the furniture tablets from Pylos.[14] There are pieces of wood[15] carved with spirals which had also formed part of small wooden boxes. The indications of jointing visible in these show that the Mycenaeans were skilled and careful cabinet-makers.

In the same deposit was a fine series of stone vases,[16] some of serpentine, some of limestone, some of steatite, some of pudding stone and one of *Lapis Lacedaemonius* (figs. 18–22). Two of the stone vases had been decorated with inlay of different variegated stones or other materials (fig. 23). Some of them apparently had had lids or mouthpieces of metal such as silver. Like the ivories they had all been affected by the violent fire which destroyed the building and many of them had been shattered into fragments. The stone vases were found rather in the northern part of the room and the ivories in the southern part. Foreign imports are represented by several vases of faience[17] probably of Syrian fabric (figs. 24, 25) and part of an Egyptian vase of alabaster of the characteristic "baggy" type. Hardly any Mycenaean vases were found, but there are a few of the L.H. III B style which date the building. Near the inner face of the southern wall of the West Room was found one tablet inscribed in the Mycenaean Linear B Script, X 508 below. This had been baked hard in the fire and suggests that if the ruins had not been so much denuded more tablets might have been preserved.

To the north of the building are the ruins of other buildings mostly Mycenaean, but overlaid or damaged by Hellenistic constructions which still await complete exploration. To the west the rock rises and here again the Mycenaean ruins were overbuilt in Hellenistic days. To the south the building is separated from the House of the Oil Merchant by a narrow lane running east and west between high cyclopean walls which supported the terraces on which the houses stood (fig. 10). The lane is at most 1.50 m. wide and following the shelving rock rises rather steeply from east to west.

This building is presumably older than the other two houses, but it cannot have been very much older since all seem to have been built in L.H. III B. Further exploration may give us further information about it and also especially help to determine its purpose. No earlier buildings seem to underlie it, but a small rock-cut grave which had been robbed was found under the north wall of the North Room. It would thus appear that the site had not been inhabited previously. At present we have no clue to its purpose. It certainly does not seem to have been a dwelling, and also it does not appear to have been intended for any religious uses. Perhaps the text of the tablet found in the West Room may one day enlighten us.

A. J. B. W.

5. THE HOUSE OF THE OIL MERCHANT

As already remarked this house (see the plans, figs. 1, 2, 4) occupied a terrace separated from that of the House of Shields by a narrow lane wider at the east than at the west end. The rock here also slopes down in two directions, from north to south and from west to east. Thus, the house was built on an artificial terrace of fill supported on three sides, north, east, and south, by strong walls built in the cyclopean manner. At the north end the fill which it holds up is mostly of stones but at the south end is of earth and debris from earlier buildings containing much pottery and many fragments of fresco. The terrace wall is about twenty-eight meters long. The northern ten and a half meters are founded on the rock. The rest is supported by an artificial foundation of stone laid on the rock. As can be seen from the plan, the northern part of this consists mainly of cut blocks of poros which presumably are re-used, having originally formed part of some other building. Ten and a half meters from its northern end the terrace wall is set back about half a meter for a distance of about five meters. There is no obvious reason

[13] *Archaeology* **7**: 149 ff., 1954; *B.S.A.* **49**: 236 ff., 1954; **50**: 183 f., 1955.

[14] M. Ventris, *Eranos* **53**: 109 f., 1956; M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 234 ff.

[15] *B.S.A.* **50**: 182, pl. 27, 1955.

[16] *B.S.A.* **49**: 237, 1954; **50**: 182 f., 1955.

[17] *B.S.A.* **49**: 237, 1954; **51**: 109 f., pls. 17–21, 1956.

for this and we can only imagine that it was so designed by the architect in regard to the façade of the upper floors of the house. The central part of the upper floor may have been set back to accommodate a loggia or some other architectural decorative feature. At all events the plan of the house shows that it was, as modern house agents say, "architect built." It was obviously constructed after a well-conceived plan. This is clear from the regularity of the rooms and walls which are aligned with those of the House of Sphinxes to the south. For instance the east wall of the main Corridor of the House of the Oil Merchant is in the same line as the west wall of the Corridor of the House of Sphinxes.

The ruins of the house as we now have them divide into two parts, a western and an eastern. The western part is a heavy terrace of stone erected on the rising rock. The eastern part is a basement (fig. 26) built on the lower terrace, already described, held up by the stout cyclopean wall on the east. The level of the western part seems to have been that of the principal floor of the house. There are main enclosing walls on all four sides, north, east, south and west, and remains of cross walls and cement floors but no plan can be determined. The ruins had been overbuilt in Hellenistic times and were much denuded. Moreover, we judged it inadvisable in view of the proximity of the modern high road to do too much clearing especially of the southwestern area. Little, however, could be expected here in view of the disturbance and the shallowness of the soil above the ruins. The eastern part of what survives was a basement (fig. 26) the floor of which lay slightly under two meters below the top of the ruins on the west. (The levels are given on the plan, fig. 4.) This would give to the basement a height of about 1.40 to 1.60 m. which would agree with the height of the basement of the House of Sphinxes and of the basements of other houses at Mycenae [18] (see below, p. 9).

In plan the basement is simple and straightforward. Directly to the east of the heavy terrace wall which supported the western part of the main floor there is a long Corridor from which a series of rooms on the east is entered. We have numbered the rooms in order from north to south for the sake of convenience. The northernmost room, Room 1, which was discovered by our first trial trench was obviously a storage room. Along its north, east, and south walls was arranged a series of eleven big pithoi, each originally about 1.00 m. high.[19] At the mouth they were about 0.60 m. in diameter and at the base about 0.30 m. The circumference of the middle of the body cannot be determined with any accuracy but the big jars must have been of considerable capacity and difficult to move. Owing to their shape they were supported when in position by low walls of clay brick on either side, about 0.50 to 0.75 m. high (fig. 27).

One of the jars, the fourth from the left on the south side, has an arrangement of an extra wall in front with an aperture apparently for putting some form of heating below it. This suggests that the big jars were intended to contain oil, which is apt to congeal with cold, and that it was kept warm to avoid this. It is said that in Tuscany today arrangements are usually made in oil storage rooms for some form of heating in order to prevent the oil from congealing in winter.

The arrangement of these big storage jars along the walls recalls Homer's description of the storeroom with wine jars in the house of Odysseus (*Odyssey* II 342). That these pithoi were for the storage of oil is confirmed by two other points. Behind the pithos in the northeast corner of the room was a tablet inscribed in the Mycenaean Linear B Script, Fo101, bearing a record of quantities of a commodity indicated by a sign which we now know from a tablet found at Pylos in 1954 to mean olive oil.[20a] Further at the north end of the main Corridor just outside the door of Room 1 we found thirty large stirrup jars (figs. 32–34) which from the oily condition of their fabric had obviously once contained oil. This consignment of thirty stirrup jars of olive oil seems to have been just prepared for shipment when disaster fell upon the house. The jars were stoppered and sealed. Into the spout of each jar a clay stopper, in shape rather like a champagne cork, was inserted (fig. 36). This was fastened in with a string and then covered with a cap of clay which covered not only the stopper but also the whole spout (fig. 37). This clay cap was called by Homer *κρήδεμνον* which is a woman's headdress.[20] It was obviously applied to the clay cap over the stopper of a wine jar because it hung down all round just as a head kerchief hangs round the head of a woman. The clay cap was pinched with the fingers, the prints of which can still be seen, against the handle of the jar and then sealed with a signet impressed many times in the damp clay. Among the clay sealings on these jars three signets are recognizable. One shows a cow or an ox scratching its ear with its hind leg. A second shows a demon between two rampant lions and the third three girls dancing. The first two impressions are circular and were probably made by lentoid signets of stone. The third is oval in shape and from the sharpness of the impressions appears to have been made by a metal signet, probably of gold. The circular lentoid Mycenaean signets are usually of stone, but the oval signets are usually of metal, mostly of gold. The signet on the cap possibly is that of the owner of the olive

[18] E.g., South House, *B.S.A.* **25**: 87, 1921–1923; House of Columns, Wace, *Mycenae*, 95, Princeton, 1949. The East Basement of the Granary was about 2.00 m. high (Wace, *Mycenae*, 57) and that of Tsountas' house about the same height. In the Palace the basement under the East Lobby of the Grand Staircase was not more than 2.00 m. high (Wace, *Mycenae*, 74) but the original height of the Pillar Basement which was destroyed and filled in cannot now be determined (Wace, *Mycenae*, 75).

[19] *B.S.A.* **48**: pl. 10*a*, 1953.

[20] *Odyssey* III 392.

[20a] *Cf.* the clean jars from the House of the Wine Merchant (fig. 35).

yard from which the oil came. The device on the signet would indicate the brand just as a shell or Pegasus does today for a different kind of oil. The sealing would also presumably discourage theft or adulteration.

In the center of the floor of Room 1 there is an oval depression presumably intended to collect any oil that spilt on the floor so as to save wastage. In this sump lay a tall amphora of well-made but undecorated domestic ware broken into fragments. It was 0.65 m. high and 0.36 m. in diameter. It had suffered severely in the fire and one side and handle are badly burnt and calcined. It is tall and slender and in shape handsome and of good proportions. On the south side of the door there is a low, raised bar again presumably intended to prevent any oil spilt on the floor from running out into the Corridor. The floor of the room and the walls were originally covered with clay plaster well-smoothed and carefully laid and consisting of fine yellowish clay (probably from Plesia or Longaki).

In Room 2 (fig. 28) we found nothing until we began to clear the eastern part and then in the confused debris of broken crude brick and fallen rubble we found thirty-seven clay tablets inscribed in the Mycenaean Linear B Script. They were all in confusion and had clearly fallen when the floor above collapsed in the conflagration in a tumble of burning debris. One tablet, Au102, was found standing upright against the southeast corner of the room.

Room 3 (fig. 29) is a small passage which leads round to the south into Room 4 which probably had this type of entrance as an extra protection for the stores or perhaps to support some special construction on the floor above. Room 4 was occupied by storage vessels of various sizes (fig. 30). Two large pithoi stand in the northwest and northeast corners and other storage vessels were found about the room. Among these are some painted vessels that enable us to date the period at which the house was destroyed, two small stirrup jars and two spouted bowls of excellent fabric. These are characteristic of the Late Helladic III B Period and show that the house was destroyed while that period still flourished (figs. 39–41).[21]

Room 5 was empty but it was much ruined. It is possible that the emptiness of this room and of Room 3 indicates that the house was well looted before it was set on fire. The condition of the stirrup jars at the north end of the main Corridor suggests that the destruction of the house was deliberate. Many of the stirrup jars had been overturned. Some had been unstoppered and their contents had been spilt. From others the stoppered spouts had been knocked off so that their contents could be more easily poured out and so add fuel to the fire. The fury of the fire is proved by the appearance of many of the stirrup jars. Some are badly distorted by the heat, so badly that it is impossible now to rejoin the broken pieces (fig. 32). Others are fused and partly vitrified by the high temperature.

It is interesting to note that, whereas in some of the rooms of the House of Sphinxes remains of ivory inlay from the furniture of the upper floor and broken vases of stone and pottery were found in the debris fallen from above in the collapse of the burning superstructure, practically nothing of the kind was found in the ruins of this house. There are, however, a few fragments of much burned and broken fresco (figs. 42, 43) which lay mostly in the debris above Room 2. These had probably decorated the walls of the rooms on the floor above. The scenes in the frescoes were painted in an interesting variant of the miniature style. There are several fragments of the heads and bodies of women and with them are a few architectural fragments. All these are perhaps the remains of a composition with a number of women grouped in or in front of a large building. The women wear elaborate dresses. The architectural fragments show what seems to be a curtained window and part of a rubble pier with timber framework and an ashlar façade. There are also some pieces of horses on a somewhat larger scale. All are executed in an unusual outline in black and white and brown. The

[21] The dating, 1300–1230 B.C., suggested by Furumark (*Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, 115, Stockholm, 1941) for this stage is not acceptable, for he gives one hundred and twenty-five years to the L.H. III A stage (which to judge by the amount of pottery so far known cannot have been so long) and only seventy years to the L.H. III B stage (to which belongs an enormous amount of pottery). It is better thus to shorten Furumark's L.H. III A stage and place its end not long after the close of the Amarna epoch and to expand the L.H. III B stage by the same amount accordingly at its beginning. I would put the transition from the B to the C stage in the last quarter of the thirteenth century B.C. Furumark actually dates the end of his B stage and the opening of his C stage to 1230 B.C. I would prefer to regard the last quarter of the thirteenth century as a transitional phase between the B and C stages. Thus I suggest the date 1210 B.C. as an approximate date for the division between B and C. We can tabulate my suggestions with Furumark's thus:

B.C.	Furumark	Wace
1500	L.H. II	L.H. II
1425	L.H. III A	L.H. III A
1340		L.H. III B
1300	L.H. III B	
1230	L.H. III C	
1210		L.H. III C
1100	L.H. III C end	L.H. III C end

The years just after 1425 B.C. and on either side of 1210 B.C. I would regard as transitional periods between L.H. II and L.H. III A and between L.H. III B and L.H. III C pending the accumulation of further evidence. Precise dating of any phase of Mycenaean pottery is a refinement which our present knowledge does not justify. Professor Mylonas (*Ancient Mycenae*, 34, n. 40, Princeton, 1957) says that "Unfortunately, Professor Wace's change of dates is not based on evidence." This is inaccurate for my dating of the transition from L.H. III A to L.H. III B is based on the Amarna pottery; see my paper, The last days of Mycenae, in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, 126 ff., Locust Valley, N. Y., 1956. Professor Mylonas seems to prefer Furumark's dates which he says are "based on stylistic analysis and personal impression."

style is quick and impressionistic and the frescoes suggest sketches rather than finished paintings.

Rooms 6, 7, and 8 at the end of the Corridor on the east probably indicate the position of the main staircase of the house that led up from the basement to the floor or floors above. Room 6 is the entrance lobby to the staircase. From it anyone ascending the stairs would have turned immediately to his right and gone up a flight of stairs in Room 8. At the top of this he would have come on to a landing and turned immediately to his right again and ascended another flight going up above Room 7. This would have brought him to the level of the upper floor if we calculate the height of the basement as about 1.50 m. The thickness of the wall at the south end of Room 7 is probably due to the necessity for providing extra strength at this point to support the weight of the upper part of the staircase. There may even have been two floors above and the desire for extra strength may have been caused by this.[22]

At the south end of the Corridor there is an unnumbered room which has no entrance and no floor. It is simply an enclosure containing a mass of pebbly fill. Since its south wall is of the same thickness as that of Room 7 it also was in some way connected with the building of the upper flights of the staircase. There is a somewhat similar doorless enclosed space at the south end of the staircase in the House of Columns [23] which also may have had some purpose in connection with the upper floors. The doorway of Room 7 is slightly narrowed by projecting jambs which were of rubble and crude brick once sheathed with timber. This was probably a cupboard underneath the upper flight of stairs. Perhaps at its top the staircase ended in a kind of rectangular turret to provide access to the flat roof of the house.

The construction of the house seems to have followed the usual Mycenaean practice. The lower parts of the walls are of rubble packed with the yellow clay from Plesia or Longaki and above them the superstructure was of crude brick strengthened by a timber framework. Since no stone thresholds were found the thresholds must have been of wood as in the South House and the House of Sphinxes. The jambs of the doorways were bound with timber, but the walls otherwise were covered with a thickish clay plaster which seems to have been tough and durable because when excavated it appeared to be still in good condition. The timbering of the superstructure was not anchored in the rubble work below as in many cases [24] but rested directly on the top of the rubble wall on a thickish layer of clay. The clay bricks were fairly large in size and seem to have measured as a rule about 0.40 × 0.25 × 0.15 m. The rubble walls were carried down through the fill of the terrace to the rock below and at the floor level widened out with a footing of about 0.30 m. Excavations beneath Room 5 found the sloping rock at a depth of about 1.50 m. and in the fill there were some broken walls which perhaps were intended to retain the fill and prevent it from shifting. Here we found a fair amount of broken pottery and among it several fragments of L.H. III A style (fig. 38). Beneath the floor of the Corridor near Rooms 2 and 3 we found many fragments of fresco. These like the pottery mentioned must have been debris from earlier buildings which had once stood in this area. It did not, however, seem to be stratified, but rather in the nature of fill which had been thrown in to make up the level.

The largest piece of fresco shows a man, wearing a white tunic with black dots, marching to the left (fig. 31). On his legs he wears white gaiters fastened with red garters below the knees. He is painted the conventional red-brown color. His knees are bent as if he were supporting some considerable weight. Over his shoulder he bears a pole from which depends behind him a large white object of uncertain shape. He may perhaps be carrying one pole of a litter or sedan chair. By his side and in front of him, but on a lower level, is the upper part of another man who wears a pale blue tunic with black dots. Other fragments show part of a charging bull, parts of women's dresses, the white-gaitered legs of a man, a rosette and other decorative motives. The frescoes are all of good style not unlike those of the megaron of the Palace. From the pottery associated with them, they presumably are also to be assigned to the L.H. III A Period.

One problem in connection with this house which has not yet been solved is the question of its entrance. The ruins as preserved show no obvious entrance and we have no means of telling where it was. There can have been no entrance on the east or on the south. The western side has been irretrievably damaged by the building of the modern road. In the north wall along the lane which divides the house from the House of Shields there is a setback in the wall and the angle of this is marked by a large block of conglomerate. As the plan shows this is at the north end of the terrace wall on the west side of the main Corridor of the basement. The conglomerate block is not, however, a threshold and, although it is tempting to think that there may have been an entrance to the house at this point to a corridor perhaps directly above the basement Corridor, there is no true evidence for it and there would still remain the problem of how it was approached from outside, for we do not know what was the level of the lane.

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6. THE HOUSE OF SPHINXES

The second group of tablets found at Mycenae came from the House of Sphinxes, an independent private house directly to the south of the House of the Oil

[22] In the House of Columns there were two floors above the basement, Wace, *Mycenae*, 95, 96.

[23] Wace, *Mycenae*, pls. 32–34.

[24] E.g., South House, Wace, *Mycenae*, 66, pl. 24 *a*, House of Columns, *ibid.*, 95, pl. 108 *b*.

Merchant where the first group of tablets had come to light. The following account is an attempt to give as comprehensively and comprehensibly as possible the archaeological evidence of the house as excavated, in particular where it concerns the tablets.

The House of Sphinxes (see the plans, figs. 1, 2, 5–7) was first discovered at the end of the 1952 excavation season when the clearing of the basement of the House of the Oil Merchant was being completed. At this time the northern side of Room 1 was explored and the rich deposit of kylikes and other vases discovered but not cleared. The clearing and study of this area to the south of the House of the Oil Merchant was thus one of the prime objectives of the 1953 season. The deposit in the House of Sphinxes (so named from the carved ivory sphinxes discovered in it) proved to be extremely deep and in 1953 only Room 1 and the eastern sections of Rooms 2 and 4 were cleared. The work has been continued all through the 1954 and 1955 [25] excavation seasons and it is probable that the area now cleared (as shown on the plan, fig. 5) is almost the complete extent of the house. The extreme southern wall has not yet been reached and the southern part in general still requires considerable elucidation owing to apparent alterations to the original plan. Moreover the west wall has been reached only in Room 6 and in a trial cutting in Room 2. The dangerous proximity of the modern road with its heavy tourist traffic prevents further extensive work to the west.

The House of Sphinxes abuts directly against the south wall of the House of the Oil Merchant. The walls however are not bonded and it is a later independent structure. It is important to note that this house was built on the rock directly and not on a built-up terrace as was the House of the Oil Merchant. The rock slope was carefully levelled off and against it on the east was built a massive wall. Behind this, filling the irregular space between it and the rock slope, was put a packing of stones made tight with the yellow-green clay found at Plesia and Longaki, so that the whole formed a broad solid foundation (see plan and sections, figs. 5–7). The terrace wall does not run south direct from that of the House of the Oil Merchant but is set forward to the east about 1.50 m. There was most certainly at least one upper storey and this perhaps extended further west than the basement on the level of an upper terrace, built on the higher rock to the west. When it was eventually possible to excavate as far as the west terrace wall in the basement, it was discovered that this heavy terrace wall is not in alignment with the other walls of the building which are themselves remarkably regular. It is possible that this west terrace wall was already in existence when the house was built. Certainly it rests on a shelf of rock which rises about 0.60 m. above the carefully levelled rock of the floor (section, fig. 6).

The plan of the northern part of the basement is straightforward. There is a central corridor (fig. 44) with three large rooms and one small opening off to the west and to the east one large room at the north. This room (Room 1) alone of all the basement rooms was plastered and contained fittings (fig. 45). South of this room and east of the corridor is an open area with a drain running parallel to the terrace wall and then out through it to the east. This area has no door leading into the corridor. The southernmost room on the west of the corridor, Room 8, is smaller than the others and has a particularly strong and thick west wall. South of this in the room numbered 10 the rock has not been levelled off but has been left irregular and at its original high level. The room also appears to have no door. This would seem, therefore, to be a supporting foundation and not a room. Moreover the eastern wall is double and the eastern part shows the settings for five transverse horizontal beams designed to support the weight of a heavy superstructure. These features of Rooms 8 and 10 probably indicate that the upper portion of a stairway was carried over them. The lowest flight of this then would have descended to the east as steps or a ramp [26] over the carefully shelved rock of the southernmost portion of the area now excavated. This stair was quite possibly external and may have led directly from the conjectured roadway below the terrace wall on the east to the upper floors of the house. The basement may originally have been entered through an open court (the area east of Room 10) and a doorway at the south end of the corridor (fig. 44). Later this court seems to have been enclosed as a lobby.[27] The east wall and the pillar-base set in clay at the south may belong to this development. The low wall west of the pillar would have carried a window lighting the lobby from the stair and the lobby would have been entered by a door east of the pillar over the previous low retaining wall of the stair. In this development also the irregular structure in the drained area east of the corridor may have been built. These suggestions, however, are tentative and more evidence may come to light in the excavation of the southeast corner of the site.

The masonry is of the usual Mycenaean dry stone rubble packed where necessary with clay. In addition to those in the east wall of Room 10 there are traces of the timber framework for the upper crude-brick masonry in the partition wall of Rooms 6 and 8. It is interesting to note that not only do these timber traces in both walls begin at a height of 1.40 m. above the floor but this is also the level at which the plaster of

[25] Preliminary reports have appeared in *B.S.A.* **49**: 238 f., 1954; **50**: 185 f., 1955; *J.H.S.* **74**: 171, 1955; **75** Supplement: 25, 1956; and also in the *Illustrated London News.*

[26] *Cf.* House of Columns, Wace, *Mycenae,* 94.

[27] The comparative dating of the phases in the Mycenaean plan is made difficult by the fact that both original features and changes were constructed similarly in foundation trenches cut in the rock.

the doorway of Room 1 stops.[28] This plaster is particularly notable as it is carefully curved to fit against the wooden doorpost[29] (fig. 45). The walls are set in shallow foundation trenches cut in the rock. These cuttings continue across the doorways as threshold cuttings. Traces of the charred wooden beams of the thresholds[30] were found in the cuttings for the doorways of Rooms 2 and 4. Throughout the building the floors were of packed earth directly over the rock.

This type of masonry and building, though of high quality, is not that employed in the Palace and the largest of the houses within the Citadel where for instance the thresholds are generally of stone and not of wood. This confirms the impression given by the position of this group of buildings that they are private and have no connection with official buildings or residences. The House of Sphinxes, like the House of the Oil Merchant, was quite definitely a house of which we have only the basement. The House of Shields to the north, however, does not seem to have been a house but to have had some other purpose as yet inexplicable.

The house was destroyed, as were the others to the north, by fire and seems first to have been looted. A great deal of debris from the upper storey collapsed in a muddled mass into the basement. This debris was of a typical kind consisting of burnt beams and decomposed crude brick and containing many fragments of floor and painted wall plaster. The discoveries from the house were partly things that had been in the basement itself at the time of the destruction and partly chance remains from the debris of the upper storeys. The date of the house can be determined from painted vases (figs. 48–51) both from the basement and from the debris. They show that it belongs to the middle of the L.H. III B period and was destroyed before its end.

Above the corridor and western rooms of the house lay a Hellenistic structure which appears to have been a latrine. The floor was built of extremely solid concrete and it had fairly elaborate plaster fitments (fig. 46). Two drainage pits from it had been sunk down through the Mycenaean remains below into the rock. One of these pits cut into the wall dividing Rooms 4 and 6 and the other into the middle of Room 6 (fig. 47). The debris in Room 6 must have been considerably disturbed in Hellenistic times as just to the southwest of the southern pit was a deposit of Hellenistic tiles that went down as far as the Mycenaean rock floor. They had doubtless been used as packing for the foundations of the building after the drainage pits had been constructed. Each of the two pits was cleared to a depth of five meters below the Mycenaean floor level. They were plain rock-cut shafts with the usual footholds in the sides. The northern of the two contained little dating evidence but all that remained was of the Hellenistic period. The contents consisted mainly of a large quantity of animal bones, presumably household debris. The southern contained considerably more pottery including some interesting specimens of Argive red figure of about the third century B.C., and some black glaze ware. Also in it was found a small stone Doric column capital of the tall thin type. There was little casual Mycenaean debris in either pit down to the depth to which it was practical to clear them.

There was also disturbance of the Protogeometric period in the southern portion of the site. A grave had been cut down into the outside southeast corner of the wall of Room 10 almost to rock level (fig. 44). The grave,[30a] that of a child, was stone-lined and roofed with three large slabs. The head faced west and there were two bronze rings and one small Protogeometric jug in the tomb. Above it, however, as an offering was a jar of "Pie Ware" containing in it a small black handmade jug and a set of stones with a "Jack," presumably one of the child's games. Resting on top of the jar was a saucer and in it a small lamp both also of "Pie Ware." This grave, in addition to its intrinsic interest, is of value in showing that this area was probably uninhabited in the Protogeometric period.

In Rooms 1, 4, and 8 only were found remains of the basement equipment. Room 1 as has been noted was the only plastered room and was fitted out as an elaborate storeroom. Along the north wall, as far as the terrace wall packing, ran a low plaster bench with a rough plaster pilaster abutting against it at one point (fig. 45). On the shelf and pilaster were found a number of long "loaves" of coarse clay triangular in section for which no explanation can at present be suggested. Against the west wall there were three round discs also of plaster. The room was full of vases of various domestic kinds, which had been carefully arranged according to their categories. The painted vases and those of heavier plain ware were on the north side while kylikes and bowls were stored against the south wall. The presence of much wood ash in layers among the pottery would seem to suggest that the pots were stored on wooden shelves, possibly in cupboards. The types of vases are all those common in Mycenaean wares of this period. There were on the floor roughly in the center of the room two large unpainted jars in a very fragmentary condition. The group of painted vases contained examples of mugs, cups, piriform jars, and stirrup jars (figs. 48–51) with no obvious examples of any larger shapes. The unpainted fine ware consisted entirely of kylikes, cups, and shallow angular bowls, all of several varieties. The coarser heavy ware provided a wider range of shapes (figs. 52–56). There

[28] *Cf.* South House, *B.S.A.* **25**: 87, 1921–1923; House of Columns, Wace, *Mycenae*, 95, and Room A excavated by Dr. Papademetriou, *Praktika* 1950: 212. Our masonry, however, does not seem to have the elaborate lower timber framework visible in these examples.

[29] *Cf.* South House, *B.S.A.* **25**: 88, 1921–1923.

[30] Wooden thresholds are mentioned by Homer, *Odyssey* XVII 339 (ash), XXI 43 (oak).

[30a] *B.S.A.* **51**, 129, pls. 33, 34, 1956.

were cooking pots, tripod vessels of two sizes, lids, ladles, including some pierced as sieves, and an unusual funnel shape.[31] All the ladles were of the heavy vertical handle type though examples of the supporting handle type were found elsewhere in the house.

Room 4 contained on its floor level two large open vats and two large amphorae with decorative handles (figs. 57–60) while in Room 8 against the south wall was found a small deposit of plain kylikes, cups, bowls, and ladles with supporting handles (figs. 61–63). A few examples of these types were also found in the debris of the corridor.

The debris from the upper storey contained few vases except for three large pithoi (fig. 65), fragments of which were found scattered over the whole southern portion of the house, and for three jars from Room 6. Three fragments of stone vases (fig. 66) were found in the debris over Room 10. Of these one is a beautifully finished piece in diorite which is almost certainly of Egyptian manufacture and possibly of much earlier date. Though these vases are in no way comparable with the handsome complete examples from the House of Shields it is interesting to find stone vases in this house as well. Furthermore, from the debris in the south lobby came a pestle and mortar in a hard heavy stone (fig. 64). The mortar is a shallow one with a spout for pouring. Both utensils are handsome examples of workmanship and are very well finished.

This debris as it had fallen into Rooms 1, 2, and 4 contained a vast quantity of small fragments of charred wood and of carved ivory, mainly inlay (figs. 70–73). The whole made it seem extremely likely that these were the remains of rich and elaborate furnishings from the rooms above.

Among the other remains in this debris were two very interesting deposits. In that which had fallen into Room 2 was a very large number of small pieces of pumice stone. For this no conclusive explanation has been found. Into Room 8 had fallen a quantity of seeds, much burnt from the fire which destroyed the house. These have been submitted to Dr. Hans Helbaek of Copenhagen for study and he informs us that they may be identified as vetches and lentils.[32]

South and east across the doorway from the stair to the lobby, there had fallen a large section of the heavy solid matter which is an indication of Mycenaean rubble and crude brick masonry which has been solidified by fire. This was distinguished by traces not only of two beams that had fallen with it but also of a wooden box measuring 0.70 by 0.60 by 0.40 m. which must also have come from the upper storey of the house. The charred remains contained little but a few pins, rings, and buttons. Perhaps clothing had been the original contents.

All these diverse finds give evidence of a Mycenaean house of considerable size amply equipped with goods both of everyday use and of high artistic merit. It is, therefore, a matter of great import that writing has also come to light in this house. In 1953 a group of seven seal impressions was found in the doorway of Room 1. They are small lumps of clay roughly triangular in section that had probably been pinched around a string and the seal then impressed into one face. Finger prints are visible on the reverse faces. The seal (fig. 67), the same in all seven, portrays a man between two rampant wild goats. Each of these sealings bears an inscription in Linear B characters on the reverse faces and in one case extending over onto the impression. The finding of these in the doorway gave immediate rise to the suggestion that they had been used to seal the door of this well-stocked room. However, the presence in the doorway of debris from the room itself and further close study of the sealings and the way in which they must have been made make this unlikely. Here probably they were used on chests or cupboards within the room. The reading of the inscriptions tends to confirm this type of interpretation, for the actual words would seem to refer to the vases kept in the room, using the same terms in some cases as in the catalogue on tablet 611.

In view of this evidence of the literacy of yet another Mycenaean householder we were more pleased than surprised to discover in 1954 a deposit of tablets in the debris from above which had fallen into Room 6. The deposit was in the western area of the room between the two Hellenistic pits. It is sad to think that this later disturbance may have destroyed others of this group. It had been hoped that the final clearing of the west side of the room would disclose more tablets but this was not so, although the debris here was distinctly Mycenaean and in general uncontaminated. There were nine tablets in the group, some very fragmentary and all showing clear signs of having been burnt in the destruction of the house. They were in no recognizable order but had fallen scattered from above. The tablets are made in the fine reddish-brown clay containing a leavening of sand and grit that the Mycenaeans regularly used in the production of the heavier kinds of domestic pottery. The fine writing surface does not seem in these to be a separate slip but to be the result of careful washing and smoothing. Certainly the fine lustre had been produced which is associated with fine wet clays. Perhaps this is partly the result of storing tablets in water prior to use. In the same deposit of debris was found a bronze spearhead (fig. 68) as well as two amphorae, one of them unbroken (fig. 69), and a hydria.

The suggested readings of these tablets give rise to many speculations as to their import. Particularly interesting is the series concerning spices. Both the seeds from the Room 8 debris and the pestle and mortar[33]

[31] This shape has recently been discovered at Kouklia in Cyprus, where the excavators incline to the view that it was used as a torch-holder. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, fig. 88, New York, 1885, is obviously from yet another example.

[32] *Ervum Ervilia* and *Lens Esculenta* with possibly a few grass peas, *Lathyrus Sativus*.

[33] A mortar of this fine-grained hard stone is far more suitable for grinding or pounding seeds than the vesicular volcanic

seem to have a distinct connection with commodities of this kind. Did the owner of this house deal in spices? Certainly by their nature and places of origin spices, if in demand, indicate some form of organized trade both for import and distribution. Other foodstuffs appear on tablet 611 with a separate list of vases on the reverse. This may refer to the personal property of the owner. Certainly some of the vases in the list bear a strong resemblance to those in the inscriptions on the seal impressions from the pottery storeroom. An as yet unidentified liquid commodity is recorded on tablet 610. There were in the house many vases both large and small, suitable for the storage of liquids. Unfortunately however they have not afforded any definite identification of the commodity. If indeed the owner of this house did have recorded in writing matters in connection with his household and business it is of great interest with regard to the use and implications of the script. Dr. Bennett sees in the tablets two hands, a number which is not excessive for the scribes of a single merchant's household. These interpretations and impressions, however, it must be remembered, are speculative and drawn from a small group of tablets which are, probably, only part of the quantity which were in the house at the time of its destruction. Perhaps somewhere archaeologists will be fortunate enough to excavate the first storey of some Mycenaean private house. However, from the House of Sphinxes we have recovered glimpses of Mycenaean life, the house and its furnishings, its utensils and equipment, all enhanced by the evidence of documents in the script, which may also give a clue to the occupation of the owner. It is with this kind of evidence that we can begin to write the economic if not the political history of this early Greek civilization.

E. B. W.

7. THE TABLETS

The tablets fall into definite groups according to shape and size. There are three sizes of rectangular tablets, Au102 the larger size, Fo101 the second size, and Oe106 a third size. There are also others, long and narrow, which are like small or large labels or dockets, Oe118 and 127. The tablets are made of dull brownish clay which resembles that from which the undecorated household ware of Mycenae was made. The interior of a tablet is of somewhat coarse clay which often contains small impurities. Most, however, seem to have been coated all over, front, back, and sides, with fine mud-colored clay on which lines were incised and the writing of the signs was done. The writing was done apparently while the clay was still damp and it does not appear that the tablets were baked but merely allowed to dry, perhaps in the sun. The tablets, however, from the three houses have all been baked accidentally in the violent conflagration which destroyed the houses but thus preserved the tablets. The effects of the fire can be seen in some of the tablets, especially in Au102 in which the fine surface clay has blistered in the great heat.

Two tablets, Oe117 and 120, are interesting, for they are apparently the upper portion of rectangular tablets like Fo101 which have been deliberately broken off. It seems that, when the incised guide lines for the writing were drawn across these tablets, the uppermost line was incised more deeply than usual, and that after the first line of signs had been written advantage was taken of the deep incision to snap the tablet in two. This would be equivalent to writing a line at the top of a sheet of paper and then folding it over and tearing off the top line.

Professor Blegen informs me that at Pylos there is evidence suggesting that the tablets were kept in boxes or baskets which were then tied with string or cord and sealed with clay seals. It seems that a similar practice existed at Knossos and probably also at Mycenae. In the House of Shields in 1954 we found a triangular lump of clay (figs. 76, 77) which apparently had been used for such a purpose, like those from the House of Sphinxes (see above, p. 12). It is pinched together with the fingers, the prints of which can still be seen, into a kind of peak. The base was smoothed and on it was impressed a signet. The design on the signet represents a man in combat with a lion and seems to have been carved on stone. On the sides of the lump of clay are lines which suggest a branch or foliage. The hole of the string round which the clay was pinched is still clearly visible. Another seal impression of the same type was found in 1951 on the surface of the slope above the House of the Wine Merchant (Cyclopean Terrace Building). It is of the same roughly triangular shape and on the flattened side is the impression of a signet representing a procession of three young men apparently bearing offerings (figs. 74, 75). The impression is not complete but it was oval and the shape and the sharpness of the lines suggest that the signet was of metal, probably of gold. Further exploration of the large private houses at Mycenae will probably yield not only more tablets but also it is to be hoped more information about the methods of filing or storing them.

Tablet Oe106 has a feature which is not paralleled by any other tablet so far known from the Mainland although there is the tablet with the "Gem-Engraver's sketch" from Knossos.[34] On its back is a sketch of a standing man incised in the clay. He stands practically

stone usually employed for querns for grinding wheat and hard grain.

[34] Evans, *Scripta Minoa* **2**: 66. Professor Kramer has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that human and animal figures occur on tablets of the third and second millennia B.C. from Mesopotamia and has sent me the following note, "Perhaps the most interesting is the tablet with the *figure aux plumes*, Parrot, *Tello*, p. 70, see his references in note 101. For the drawings on the Fara tablets see F. Heinrich, *Fara*, Pls. 27, 28; Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara*, p. 73 (snake on reverse of tablet published as no. 75 of *Schultexte aus Fara*); Raymond Jestin, *Tablettes Sumeriennes de Suruppak*, Pls. LIX, CLXXX. For the second millennium (the Fara tablets are all of third millennium) see A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, Pls. 67, 87."

at attention with his legs set stiffly together. His head is in profile and he seems to wear a curious low-peaked cap and perhaps an earring. His hands meet at his waist in front and seem to hold a smallish object, which cannot be recognized. At his waist hangs something that looks rather like a quiver or the sheath of a broad knife, and with it there are indications of a loin cloth or short kilt. There is no other certain indication of clothing of any sort unless the double line of the left shoulder indicates a short cloak. The sketch is vivid and lively but is less deeply incised on the tablet than the writing on the front. Thus we might suppose that the writing on the front was done while the tablet was still damp but that the sketch on the back was done when the tablet was beginning to dry. We can hardly imagine, as has been suggested, that the drawing is a "doodle" done by the hypothetical oil merchant for instance on the back of an old bill. The sketch seems rather to have been done purposely with a more definite object and not to be a piece of casual amusement done in an idle hour. We must seek another explanation.

We know that the walls of Mycenaean palaces and houses were decorated with frescoes of various kinds and subjects and of varying scales. The frescoes from Room 2 mentioned above prove that private houses no less than palaces were adorned with wall paintings. Did the fresco painters draw their designs direct on the walls as they painted them or did they make preliminary sketches and plan the composition and scale before they began to draw the fresco on the wall? It is not easy to believe that the frescoes of Tiryns, Mycenae, and Thebes were painted direct on the walls without any preliminary studies. The uniformity of the execution and the composition are against such an assumption. The frescoes all show in their designs and execution clear evidence of planned composition, for which preliminary studies are a necessity. We know for instance that the fresco painters of the modern Town Halls of Stockholm and Oslo made preliminary studies, of course on a small scale, before executing the great compositions on the actual walls. The careful design and drawing of the Mycenaean frescoes indicate that the Mycenaean fresco painters most probably worked by similar methods. Thus, we might perhaps regard this sketch on the back of tablet Oe106 as a sketch by a painter composing a design for a fresco. More such sketches on clay tablets may well be found in the future at Mycenae, Pylos, Thebes or other sites. Yet another point must be considered. All serious students of Mycenaean architecture agree that the great buildings like the Treasury of Atreus, the Megaron at Tiryns, and even the House of the Oil Merchant itself must have been designed and planned before construction actually began. If the architects made plans, on what material did they make them? Did they have papyrus, or linen or soft stone slabs? Or did they, as we have suggested for fresco painters, sketch their first plans on clay tablets? It is far from impossible that fresco painters and architects both used clay tablets (we know that some of the Pylos tablets are of a yet larger size than those so far found at Mycenae) for their preliminary studies of the frescoes they were designing and of the buildings they were planning.[35] Thus it would not be surprising if other tablets were to come to light with similar sketches on them or even with plans of buildings.

The evidence of the somewhat analogous tablet from Knossos [36] with the "Gem-Engraver's sketch," already referred to above, can be regarded as supporting the suggestions just put forward. The Knossian tablet, which in fabric and technique resembles the inscribed examples, bears three designs which are interpreted as sketches for engraved sealstones. They are vigorous, but careless. The importance of this tablet as indicating the use of clay as a draughtsman's material is rightly emphasized. These paragraphs about the Mycenae tablet with the sketch of a man and draughtsman's designs were written before I was aware of the Knossian tablet and so it will be seen that a study of the Mycenae tablet had brought us independently to much the same conclusion as the author of *Scripta Minoa II*. We can expect that future research at Mycenae, Knossos, Pylos, and other sites will produce more tablets of this character.

It is possible perhaps that Mycenaean fresco painters had a standard repertory of subjects for their designs. Among these would be friezes or processions of men and women of which we have fragments from Tiryns, Thebes, and Mycenae, chariot scenes like those from Tiryns and Mycenae, and perhaps hunting scenes like those from Tiryns. It has been suggested that the scenes of the "chariot vases" and the vases related to them were inspired by the frescoes.[37] Chariot scenes occur in the frescoes of Mycenae and chariot vases are known from Mycenae. A fragment of one was found in the Rhyton Well in 1920 and in 1952 a large part of a fine example was found close to the poros wall which supported the mound of earth over the "Tomb of Clytemnestra" on the east.[38] The Warrior Vase is an example of the frieze or procession. If, as suggested, the fresco painters had sketch books of clay tablets these may have been accessible also to the vase painters. At all events it is not impossible that the Mycenaean artists and craftsmen kept repertories of standard and popular designs and these may well have been bundles of clay tablets.

A. J. B. W.

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[35] An architectural plan occurs on a clay tablet of Akkadian date from Khorsabad, Frankfort, *Oriental Institute Discoveries in Iraq 1933–1934*, fig. 2, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1935.

[36] Evans, *Scripta Minoa* **2**: 66, pl. XVIII, "Gem Engraver's Sketch." Part of an apparently unfinished sketch is called a sign, p. 66. The graffito on a slate from Mallia (Chapouthier, *Revue des Études Grecques* **38**: 427, 1925) can hardly come into this category. In any case it is dated to M.M. I.

[37] This question is discussed in two papers by Professors Åkerström and Furumark in *Arkeologiska Forskningar och Fynd* (*En Mykenisk Krukmakeres Verkstad*, 32 ff. and *Utgrävingarna vid Sinda*, 59 ff.).

[38] *B.S.A.* **24**: pl. XIV *d*, 1919–1921; **48**: pl. 1 *b*, 1953.

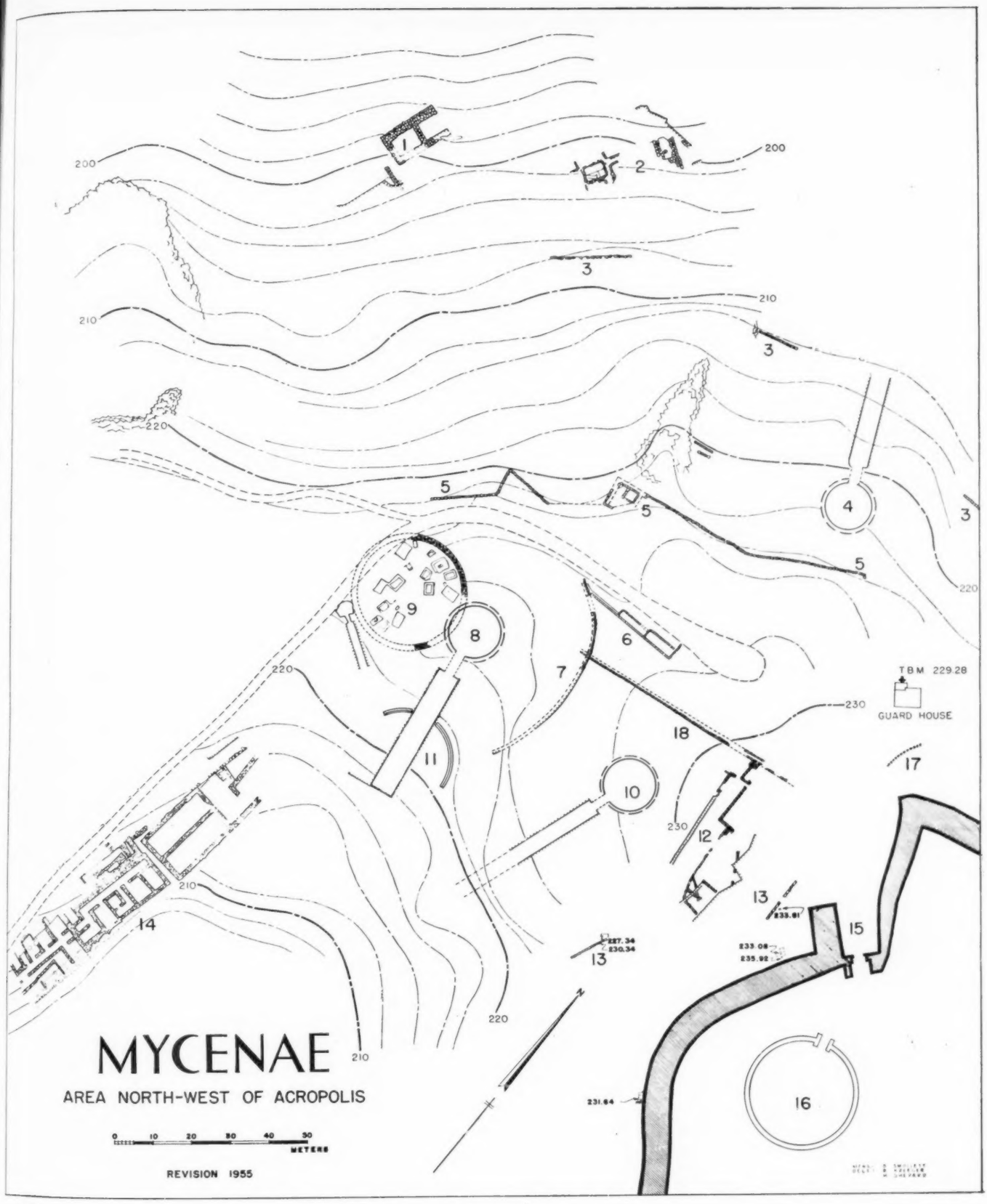


FIG. 1. Mycenae: Area northwest of Acropolis.

1. Cyclopean Terrace Building (House of Wine Merchant).
2. Petsas' House.
3. Hellenistic terrace walls.
4. Lion Tomb.
5. Lower town wall, Hellenistic.
6. Perseia Fountain House.
7. Poros Wall.
8. Tomb of Clytemnestra.
9. Middle Helladic Grave Circle.
10. Tomb of Aegisthus.
11. Theatre, Hellenistic.
12. Prehistoric cemetery, MH to LH II.
13. Mycenaean terrace walls.
14. Three Houses, Shields, Oil Merchant, Sphinxes.
15. Lion Gate.
16. Late Helladic I Grave Circle (Schliemann).
17. Water channel.
18. East-west wall.

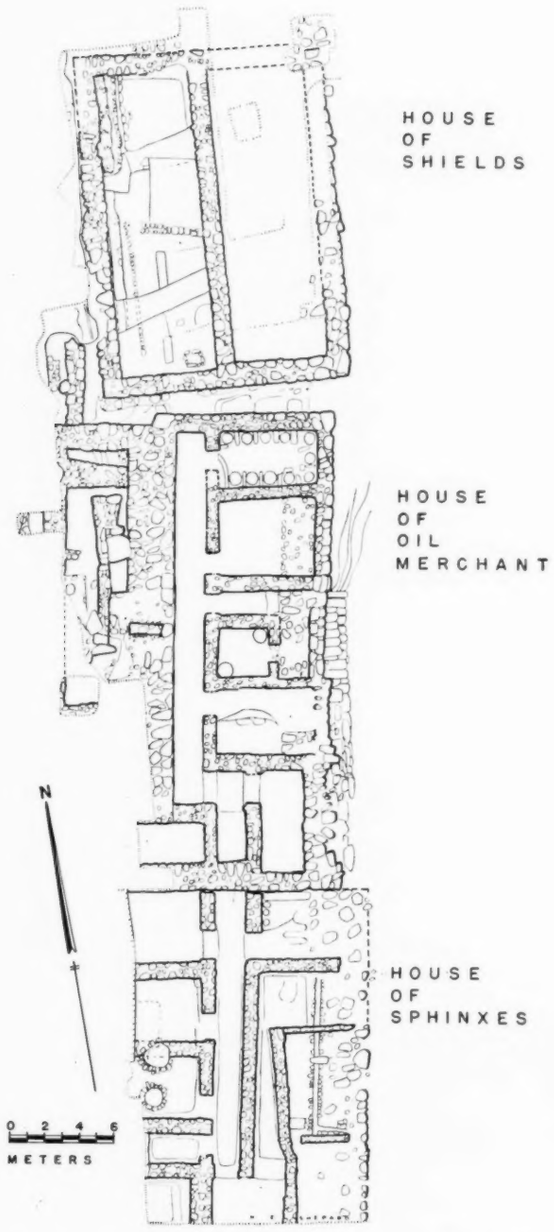


FIG. 2. Sketch plan (1954) of the three houses, Shields, Oil Merchant, Sphinxes.

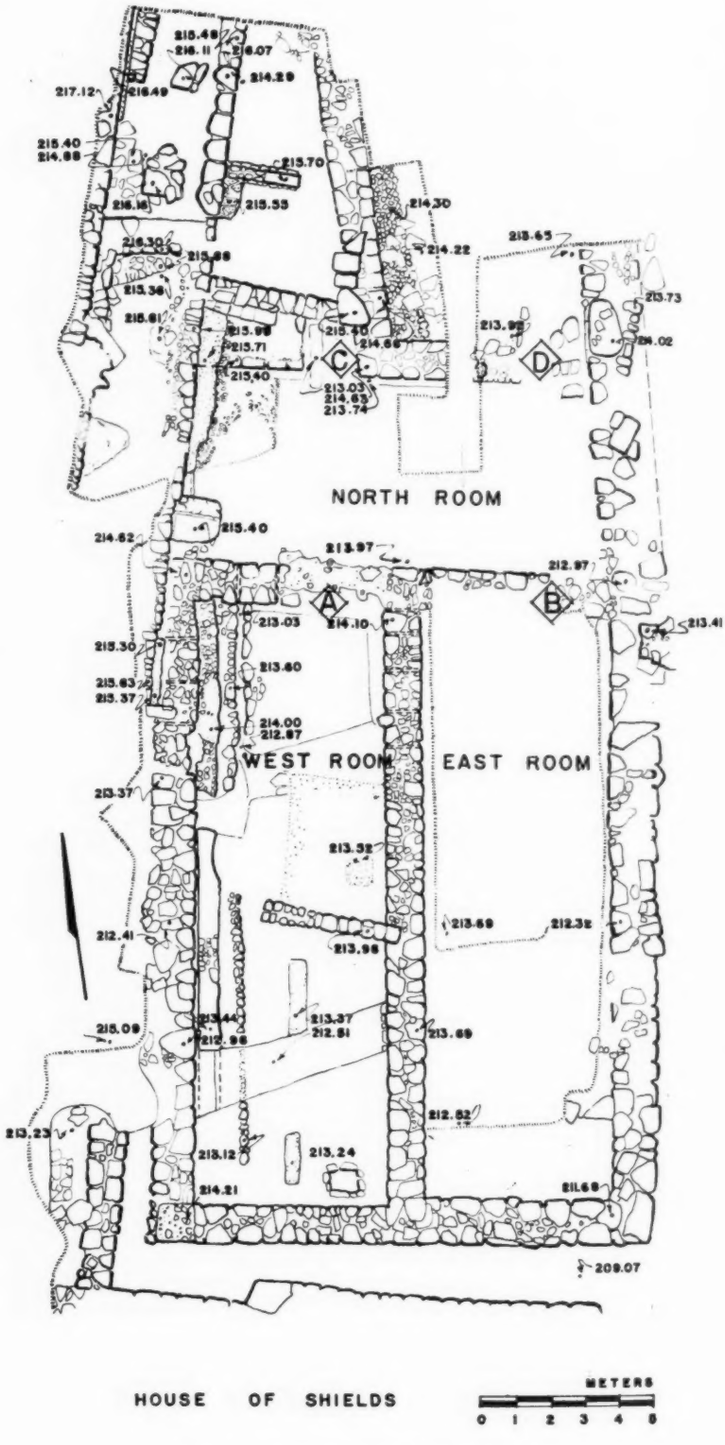


FIG. 3. House of Shields, plan (1955).

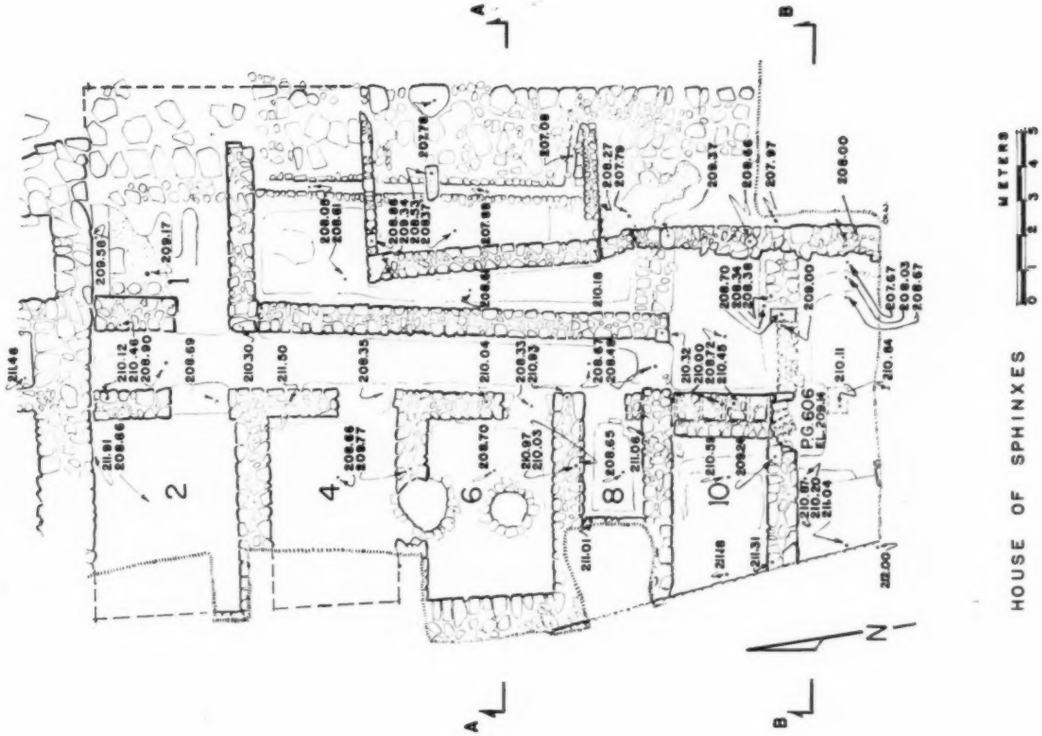


FIG. 5. House of Sphinxes, plan (1955).

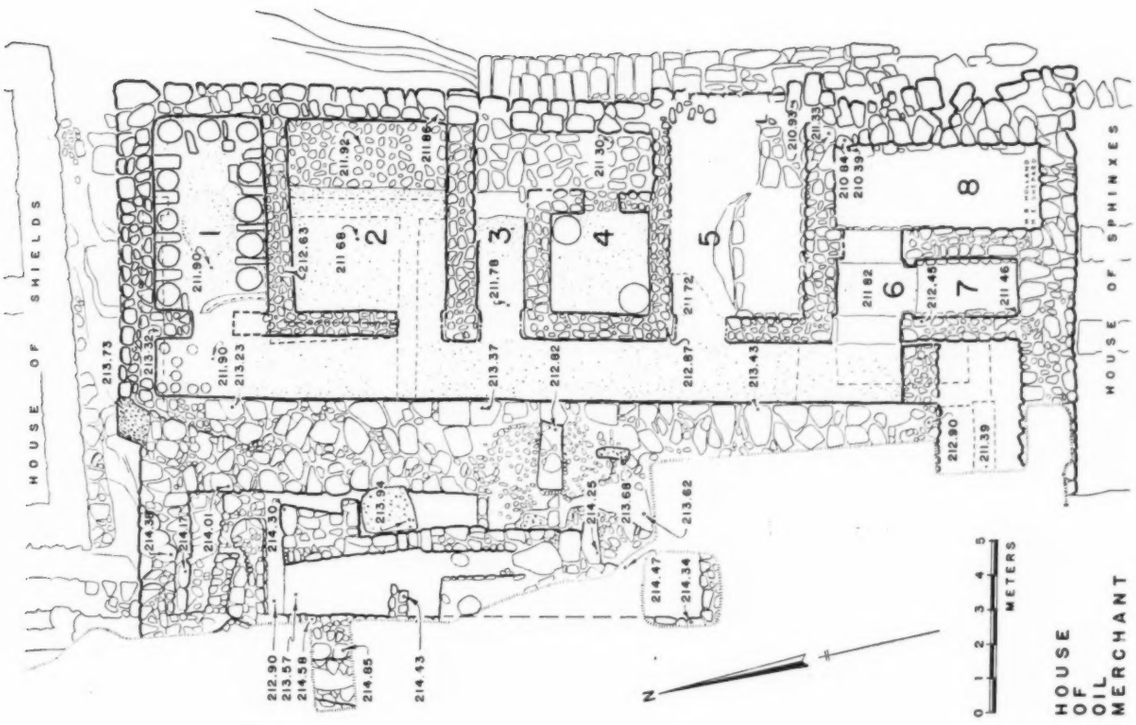
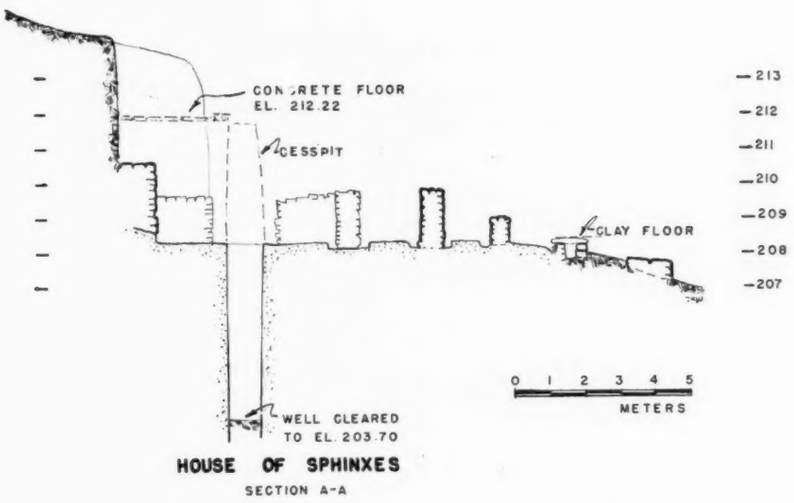
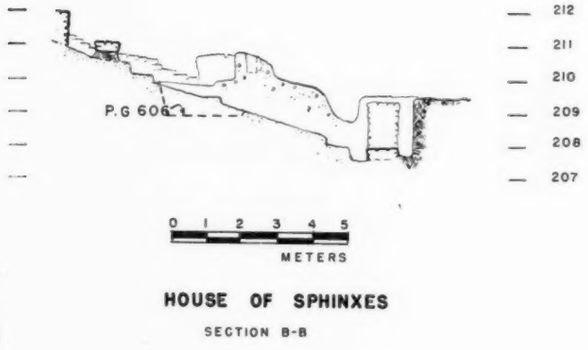


FIG. 4. House of Oil Merchant, plan (1954).



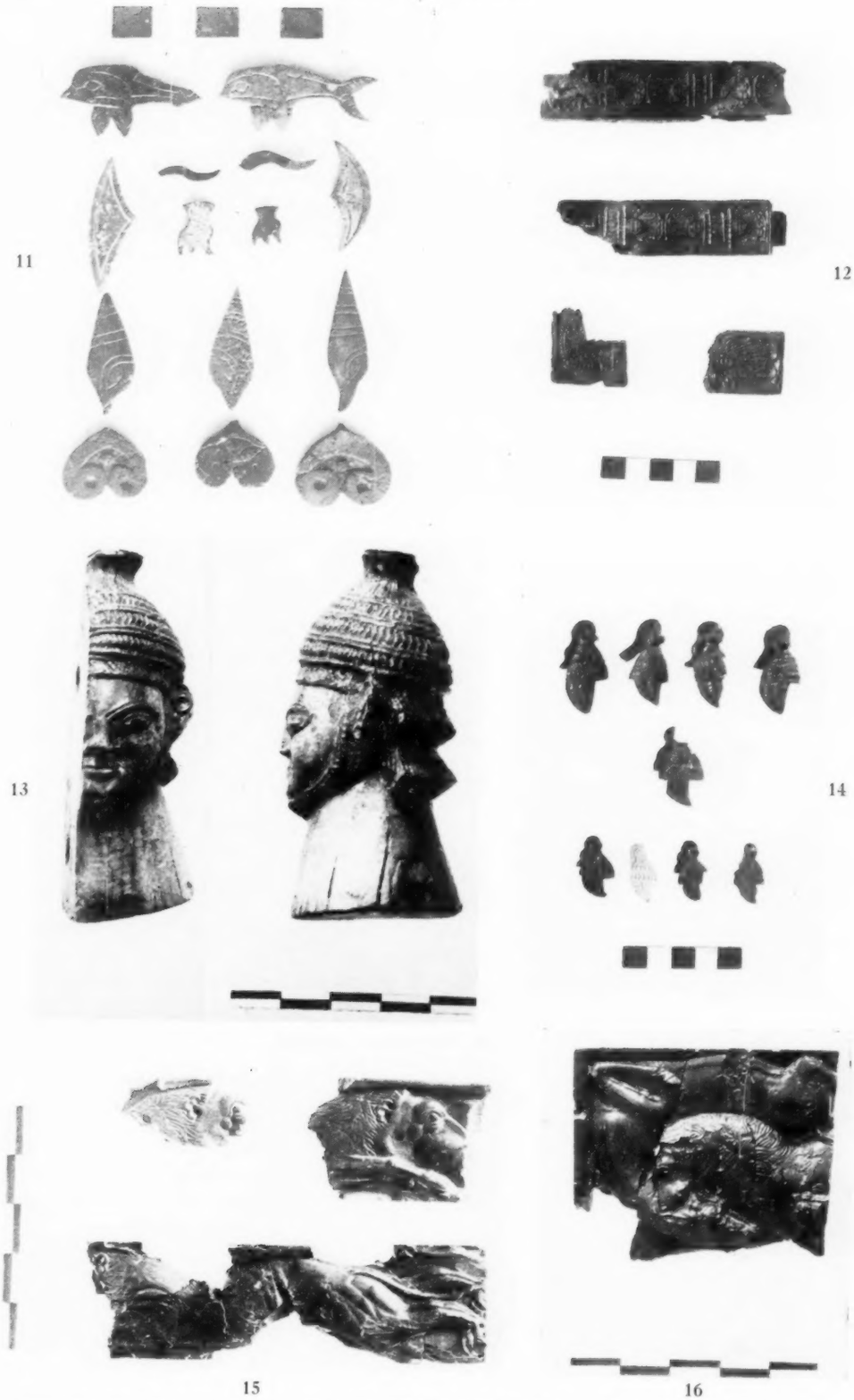


FIGS. 6, 7. House of Sphinxes, sections (1955).

FIG. 8. General view of the three houses from the east.

FIG. 9. West room, west wall.

FIG. 10. South wall and lane.
House of Shields.



Figs. 11, 12, 14. Ivory inlays. Fig. 13. Head of warrior, Ivory. Figs. 15, 16. Ivory reliefs of lions, probably from a trinket box.

House of Shields.

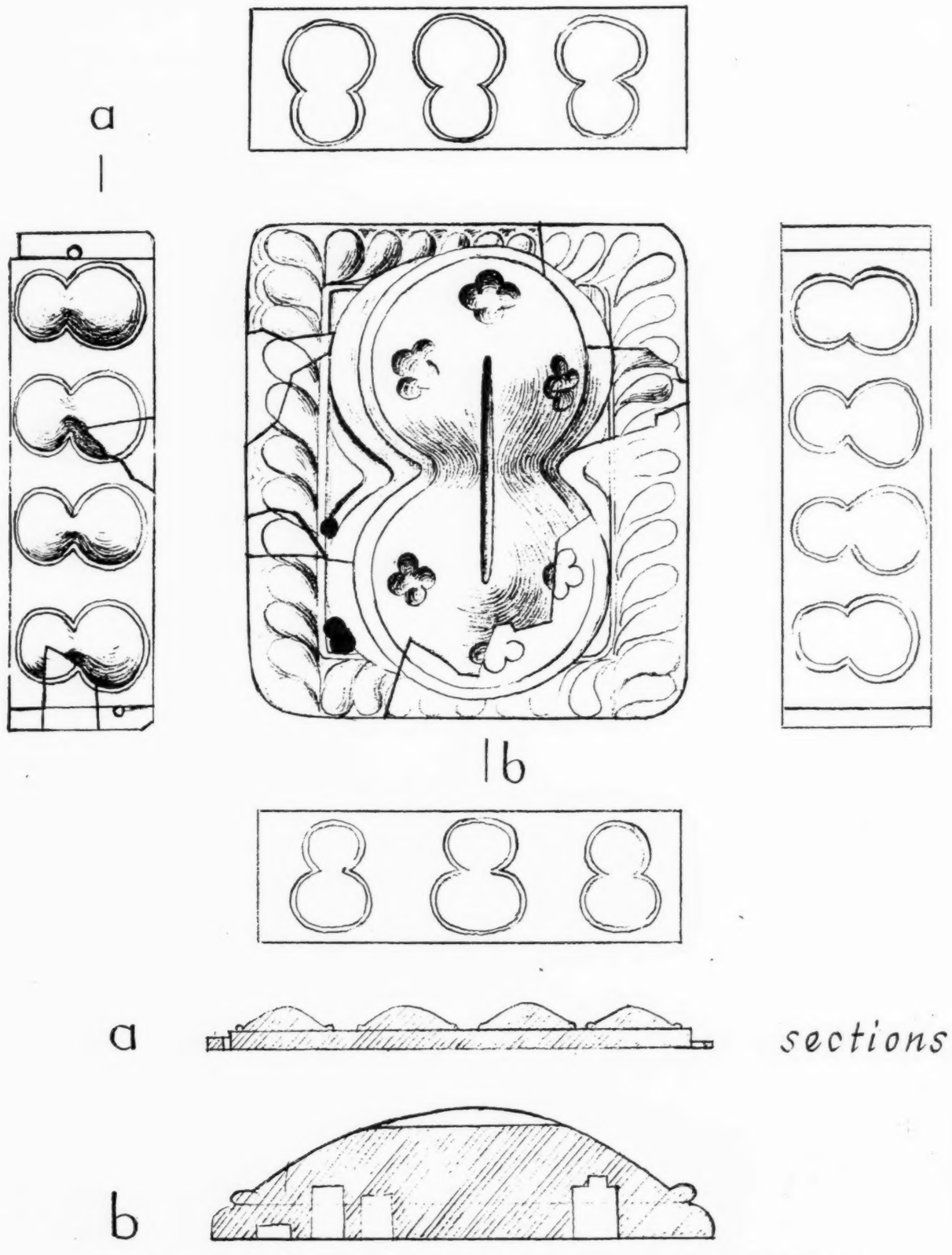


FIG. 17. Ivory reliefs of figure-of-eight shields, probably from a trinket box, restored drawing (scale 1:1).

House of Shields.

18

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22

FIGS. 18, 19. Serpentine. FIG. 20. Limestone. FIG. 21. Pudding stone. FIG. 22. *Lapis Lacedaemonius.*
House of Shields, Stone vases.

FIG. 23. Steatite rhyton, restored drawing (scale about 9:10).
House of Shields.

FIG. 24. Faience bowl, restored drawing (scale 3:4).
House of Shields.

FIG. 25. Faience rhyton, restored drawing (scale about 3:5).
House of Shields.

FIG. 26. Basement.

FIG. 27. Room 1.
House of Oil Merchant.

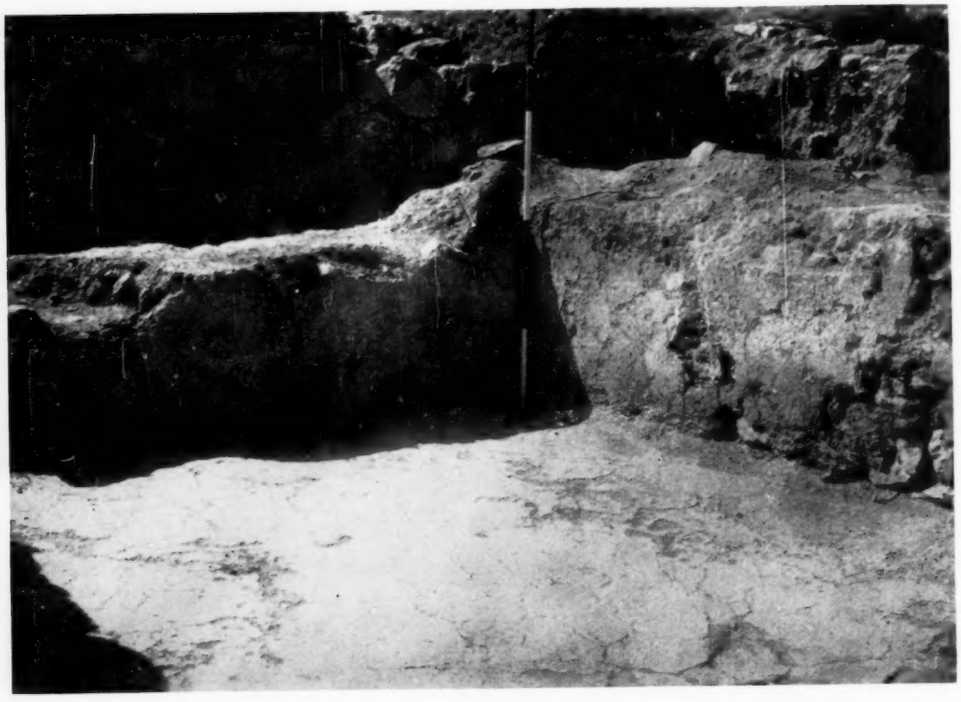

FIG. 28. Room 2.

FIG. 29. Room 3, corner of doorway.

House of Oil Merchant.

FIG. 30. Room 4.

FIG. 31. Fresco, found under floor of corridor.
House of Oil Merchant.

FIG. 32.

FIG. 33.

FIG. 34. Stirrup jars from Corridor.
House of Oil Merchant.

FIG. 35. Stirrup jars from House of Wine Merchant.

FIG. 36. Stirrup jar from House of Oil Merchant.

FIG. 37. Stoppers and caps of stirrup jars from House of Oil Merchant; spout and stopper from House of Columns.

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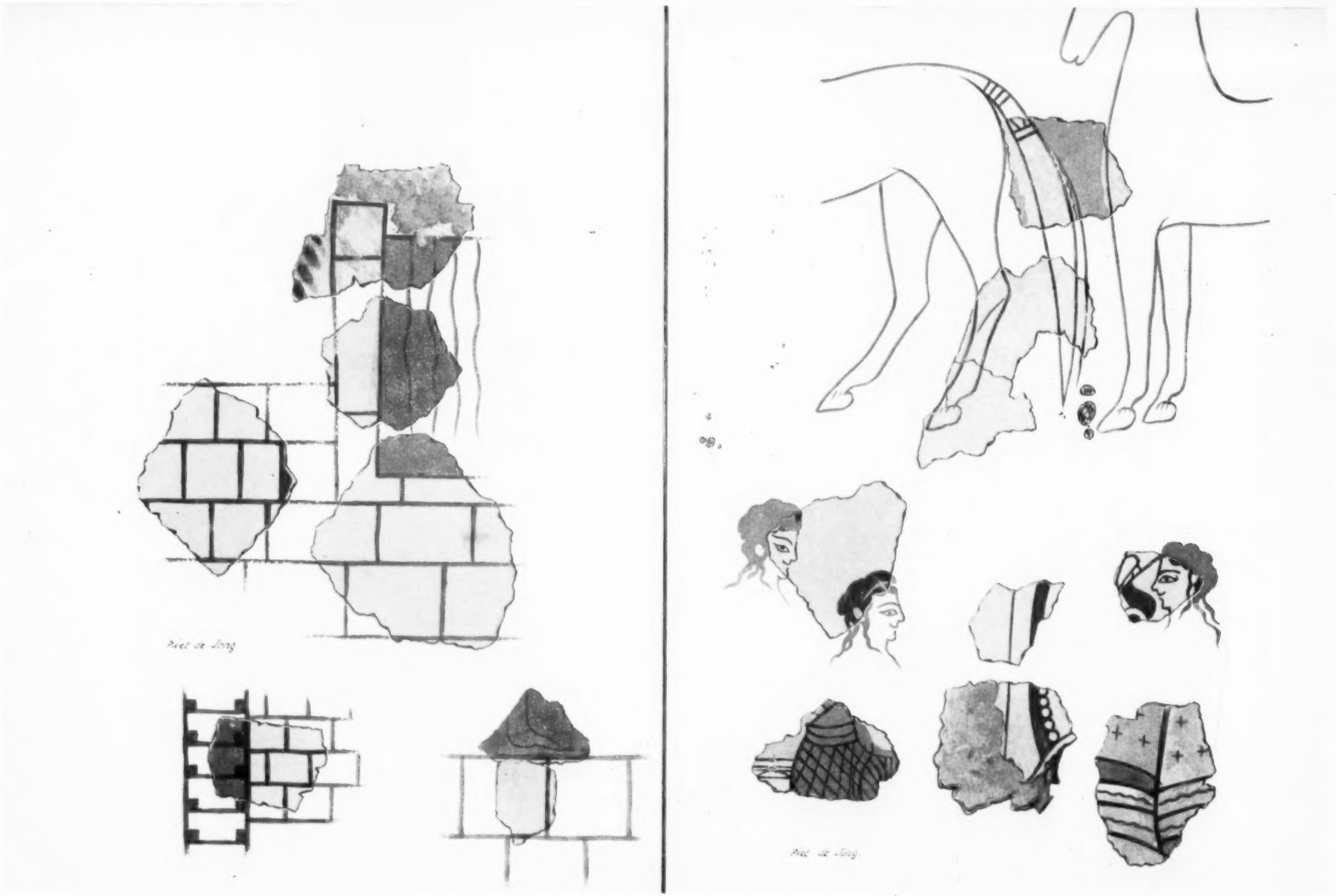
FIG. 38. Vase from below floor of Room 5. FIGS. 39, 40, 41. Vases from Room 4.
House of Oil Merchant.



FIGS. 42, 43. Fresco fragments fallen from upper floor (scale about 3:4).
House of Oil Merchant.

FIG. 44. Corridor from south lobby.

FIG. 45. Room 1, plastered wall and fittings.
House of Sphinxes.

FIG. 46. Hellenistic latrine.

FIG. 48. Room 10, piriform jar, Late Helladic III B.

FIG. 47. Room 6, west wall and Hellenistic cesspits.

House of Sphinxes.

49

50

51

FIGS. 49, 50, 51. Room 1, painted vases, Late Helladic III B.
House of Sphinxes.

52 (Scale 2:9.)

53

FIGS. 52, 53. Room 1, unpainted vases.
House of Sphinxes.

54

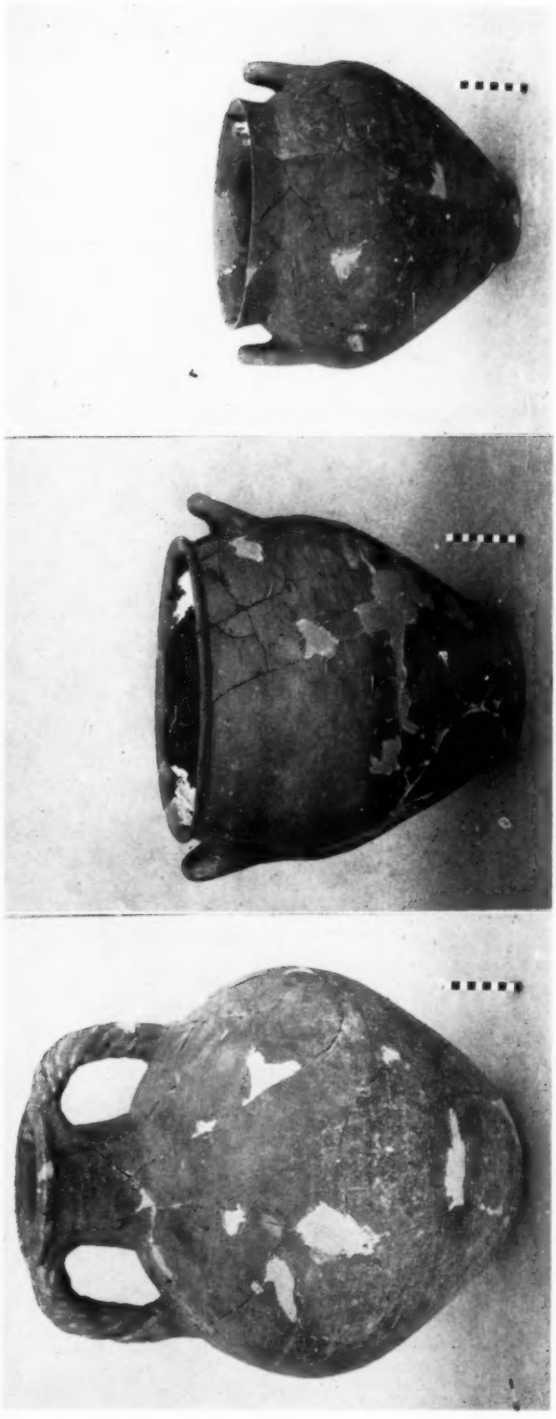
55

56

FIGS. 54, 55, 56. Room 1, unpainted vases.

House of Sphinxes.

FIG. 57. Room 4, vases as found.



FIGS. 58, 59, 60. Room 4, storage vessels. House of Sphinxes.

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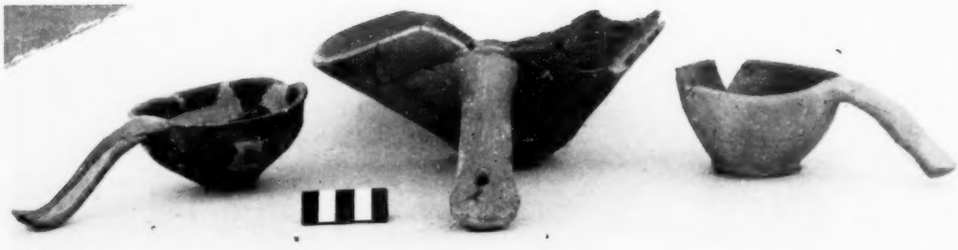


63

FIGS. 61, 62, 63. Room 8 and corridor, unpainted vases.
House of Sphinxes.

FIG. 64. Over South Lobby, pestle and mortar.

FIG. 65. Southern part of house, storage jar.

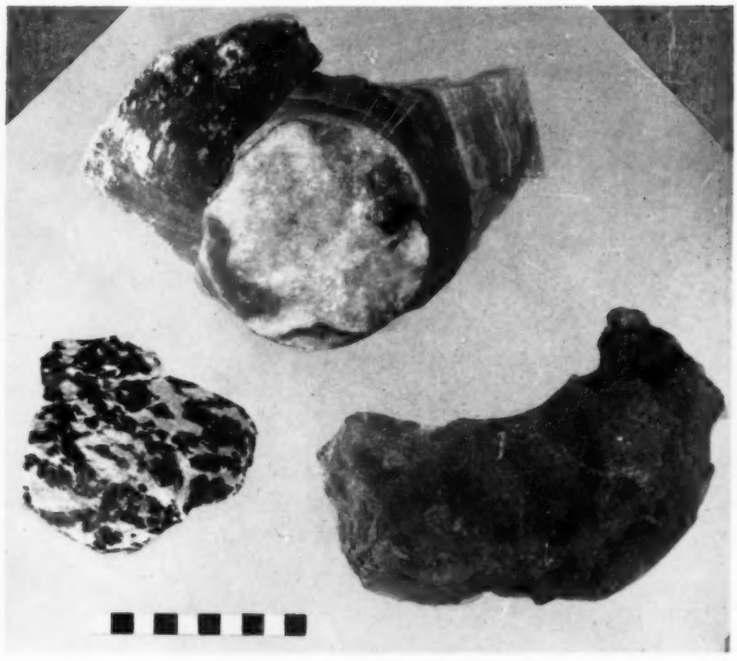


FIG. 66. Room 10, stone vases.

House of Sphinxes.

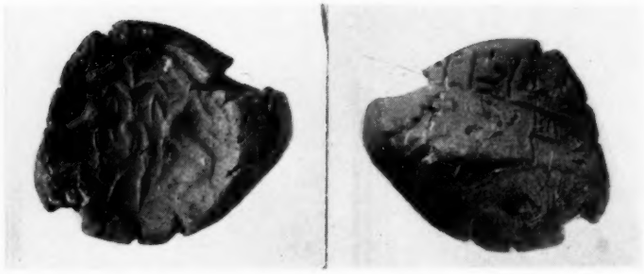


FIG. 67. Room 1, seal impression (scale 3:2).

FIG. 68. Room 6, spearhead.

FIG. 69. Room 6, unpainted amphora.

House of Sphinxes.

FIG. 70. Ivory plaque for inlaying (scale 3:4).

FIG. 71. Shells carved in ivory.

FIG. 72. Ivory inlays.

FIG. 73. Model columns in ivory.

House of Sphinxes.

FIG. 74. Seal impression (scale 1:1).

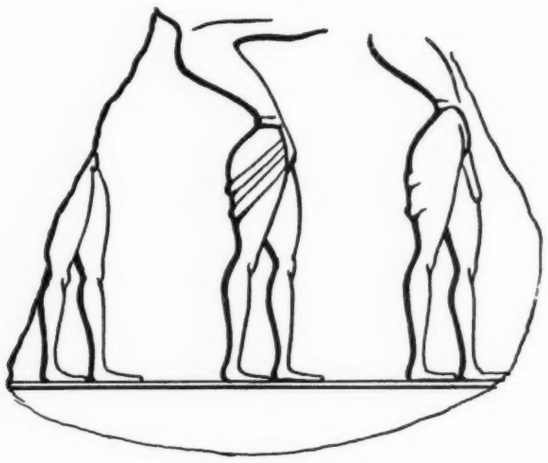


FIG. 75. Enlarged drawing of seal impression (scale 2:1).

Slope above House of Wine Merchant.

FIG. 76. Seal impression, front, drawing (scale 2:1).

FIG. 77. Seal impression, back, drawing.

House of Shields.

CATALOGUE OF THE MYCENAEAN (LINEAR B) INSCRIPTIONS FROM MYCENAE

On the following pages the Mycenae tablets and inscribed vases are presented in photographs and in drawings. The tablets appear at their natural sizes; the vases are necessarily reduced. The drawings are tracings from the photographs, occasionally corrected by autopsy (but still imperfect, e.g. 603.7).

The catalogue numbers which follow (except for nos. 1, and 200–[224]) are those assigned as inventory numbers by the excavator at the time of excavation. These numbers have been retained in order to keep the system of references as simple as possible. The inscriptions found in each of the several campaigns appear in separate series; vases with painted inscriptions found at various times and places in Mycenae have arbitrarily been assigned numbers in the 200 series. The pieces numbered 138 and 139 when cleaned were discovered not to be fragments of tablets and are omitted. Number 607 was joined to 605. Some other pairs of the fragments discovered seem to have come from the same tablet, although they either cannot be or have not yet been joined. These are 103&105, 104&116, 111&136, 113&114, 115&134, 605&605a, 608a&608b. In the references to the texts only the first number will be used.

To each of these numbers there has been added a classifying prefix, following the established system. The classes assigned to the Mycenae inscriptions are Au, Fo, Ge, Go, Oe, and Wt, all hitherto unused, with X for the unclassifiable fragments, and Z for the painted vases. The copies and transliterations will be presented in the classified order.

The sizes of the tablets are recorded, with the horizontal dimension before the vertical.

A list of other inscribed and marked objects, not necessarily in Mycenaean script but found at Mycenae, is given in an appendix.

CATALOGUE

Mycenae 1950

Surface find, near terrace walls west of Lion Tomb

X 1 6.8 × 3.6 cm. *Praktika* 1950: 215, fig. 18.

Mycenae 1952

House of the Oil Merchant: Room 1, northeast corner, behind pithos

Fo101 7.5 × 14.5 cm.

House of the Oil Merchant: Room 2

Au102 9.5 × 17 cm.
Oe103 5.4 × 5.4 cm.
(Oe103&105 5.4 × *ca.* 12 cm.)
Oe104 2.9 × 4.3 cm.
(Oe104&116 *ca.* 11 × 6.2 cm.)
Oe105 3.2 × 4.2 cm.
Oe106 9.2 × 5.5 cm.
Oe107 9.4 × 4.9 cm.
Oe108 9.8 × 5.3 cm.
Oe109 4.6 × 4.8 cm.
Oe110 8.5 × 4.8 cm.
Oe111 5.8 × 5.1 cm.
(Oe111&136 7.1 × 5.1 cm.)
Oe112 6.5 × 4.8 cm.
Oe113 6.9 × 3.5 cm.
(Oe113&114 10 × 4.9 cm.)
Oe114 4.9 × 3.8 cm.
Oe115 3.2 × 4.7 cm.
(Oe115&134 *ca.* 9 × 4.7 cm.)
Oe116 4.1 × 6.2 cm.
Oe117 5.7 × 2.8 cm.
Oe118 5.7 × 3 cm.
Oe119 3 × 3.1 cm.
Oe120 11 × 3.5 cm.
Oe121 10.8 × 3.7 cm.
Oe122 7.8 × 4.2 cm.
Oe123 5.4 × 3.2 cm.
Oe124 7.9 × 2.7 cm.
Oe125 6.2 × 3.8 cm.
Oe126 6.2 × 2.8 cm.
Oe127 13.4 × 2.8 cm.
Oe128 5.6 × 2.1 cm.
Oe129 7.9 × 2.5 cm.
Oe130 5 × 2.6 cm.
Oe131 4.9 × 3.2 cm.
Oe132 2.6 × 2.5 cm.
Oe133 2.3 × 2.2 cm.
Oe134 2.5 × 2.5 cm.
Oe135 2.7 × 2.3 cm.
Oe136 2 × 2.8 cm.
Oe137 1.6 × 1.7 cm.
[138] no tablet
[139] no tablet
Oe140 2.6 × 2 cm.

Vase Inscriptions from Mycenae

Z 201 LH III B stirrup vase, Nauplia Museum 1876, from Schliemann's or Tsountas' excavations.
Z 202 Stirrup vase, Inv. no. 52–499, from Poros Wall, 1952.
Z 203 Stirrup vase, Inv. no. 52–506, from Poros Wall, 1952.
Z 204 Stirrup vase, from House of Columns, 1939.
Z 205 Fragment of stirrup vase, from House of Columns, 1939.
Z 206 Fragment of stirrup vase, from Schliemann's dump.

Z 207 Fragment of kylix (?), from Schliemann's dump.
[208]–[224] see appendix; p. 76.
Z 300 Stirrup vase, Inv. no. 50–300, from House of Oil Merchant, main corridor, north end.

Mycenae 1953

House of the Sphinxes: doorway of Room 1

Wt501 Sealing, 2.4 × 2 cm.
Wt502 Sealing, 2.5 × 1.9 cm.
Wt503 Sealing, 2.6 × 2.1 cm.
Wt504 Sealing, 2.4 × 1.8 cm.
Wt505 Sealing, 2.8 × 2.1 cm.
Wt506 Sealing, 2.8 × 2.1 cm.
Wt507 Sealing, 2.6 × 2.1 cm.

House of Shields: west room, south end

X 508 11.6 × 3.8 cm.

Mycenae 1954

[601] see appendix, p. 76.

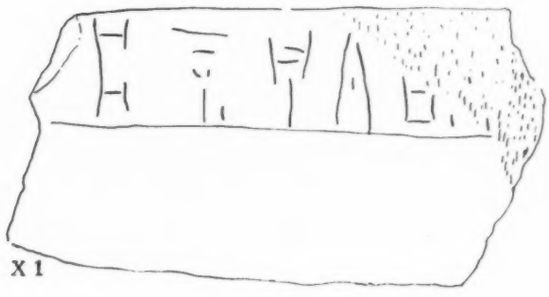
House of the Sphinxes: Room 6

Ge602 12.6 × 7.9 cm.
Ge603 14.8 × 8.5 cm.
Ge604 14 × 8.5 cm.
Ge605 18 × 11 cm.
(Ge605&605a 18 × 11 cm.)
Ge605a 2.7 × 3.4 cm.
Ge606 6.5 × 9.3 cm.
[607] joined 605
Ge608a 4.7 × 5.2 cm.
(Ge608a&608b *ca.* 8 × 5.2 cm.)
Ge608b 2.8 × 4 cm.
Au609 6 × 4.7 cm.
Go610 6 × 9.4 cm.
Ue611 11.2 × 5.2 cm.

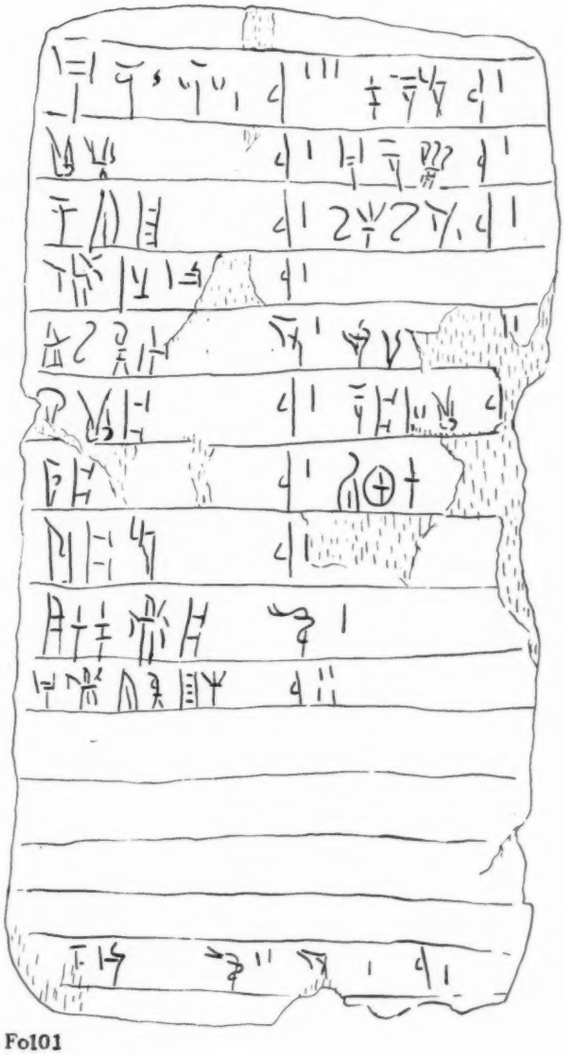
INSCRIPTIONS FROM MYCENAE:
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS

X I

Fo101

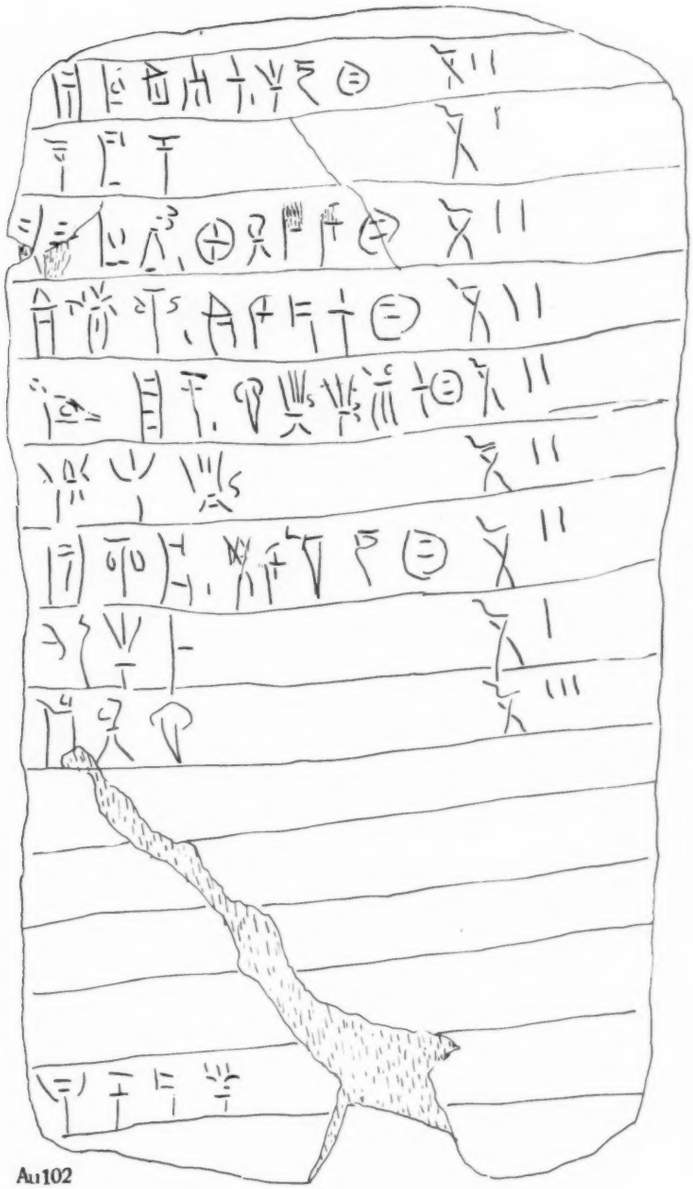


X 1



Fo101

Au102



Au102

Oe105

Oe106

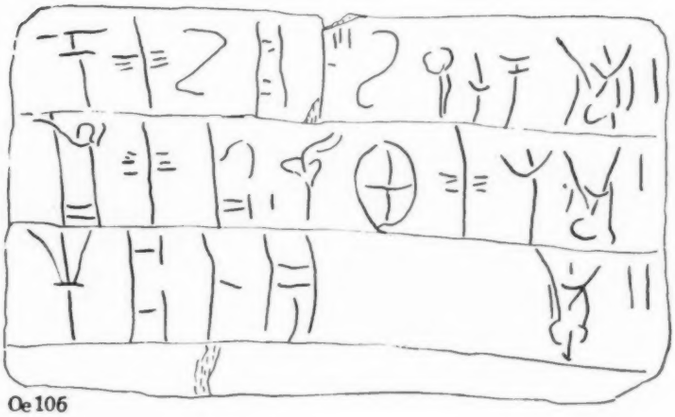
Oe103

Oe106

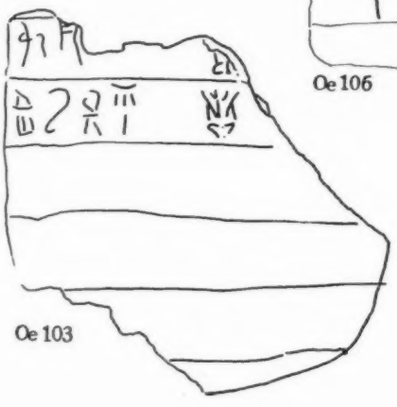
Oe104

Oe116

Oe105

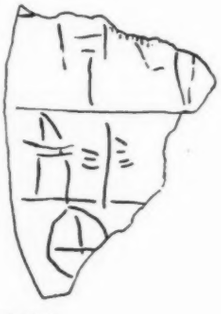


Oe106

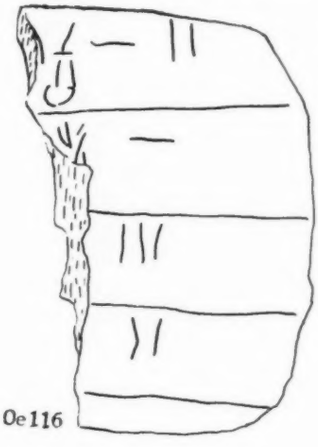


Oe103

Oe106 reverse



Oe104



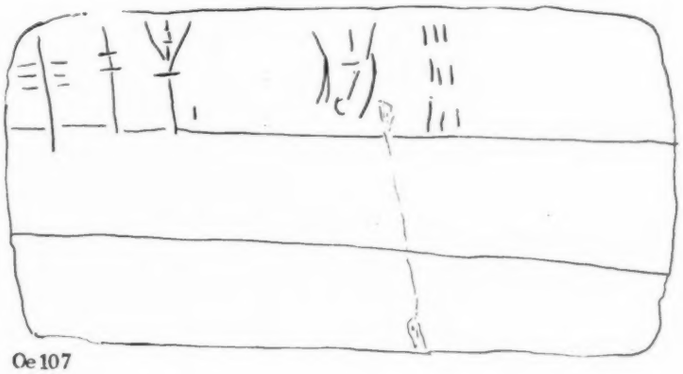
Oe116

Oe107

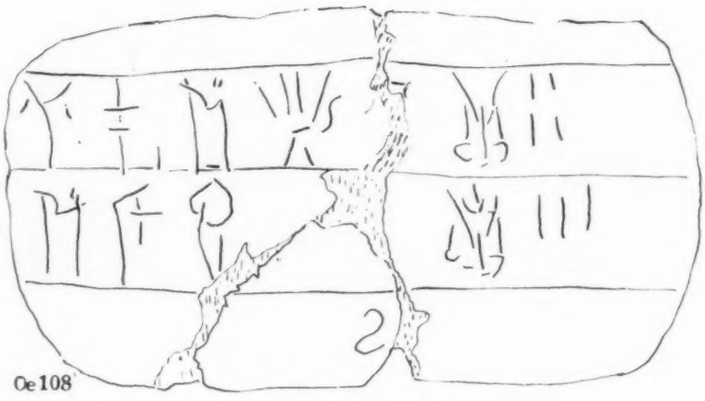
Oe108

Oe109

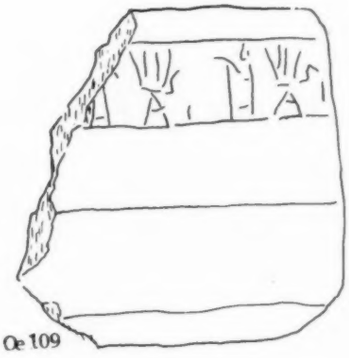
Oe110



Oe 107



Oe 108



Oe 109

Oe 110

Oe136

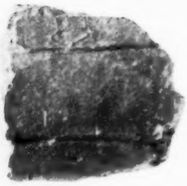
Oe111

Oe112

Oe114

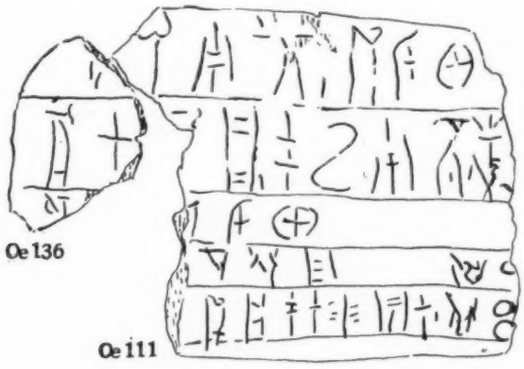
Oe113

Oe115

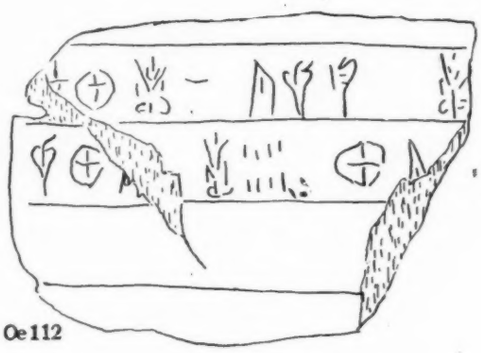


Oe134

Oe117


Oe136

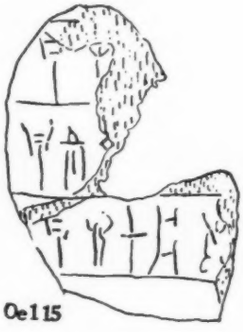
Oe111


Oe112

Oe114

Oe113

Oe117


Oe115

Oe134

Oe116: See pp. 52–53

Oe118

Oe119

Oe120

Oe121

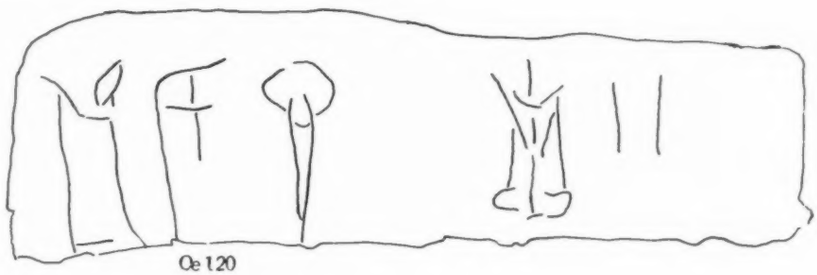
Oe122

Oe123

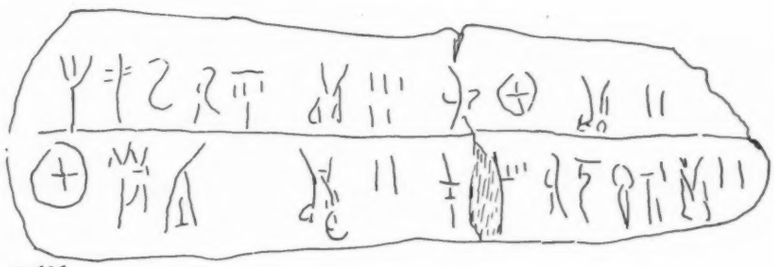
Oe124

Oe 118

Oe 119



Oe 120



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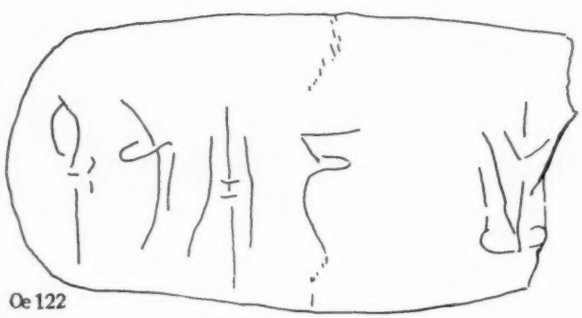

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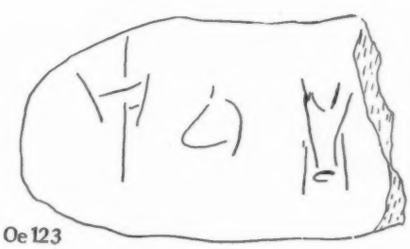

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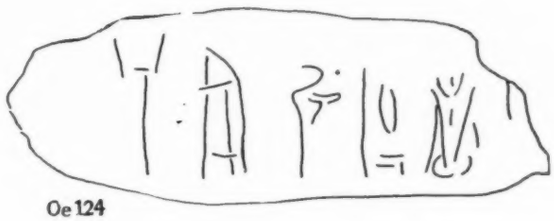


Oe 124

Oe125

Oe126

Oe127

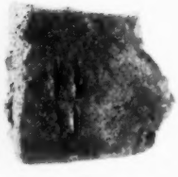
Oe128

Oe129

Oe130

Oe131

Oe132



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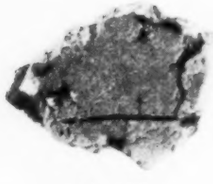
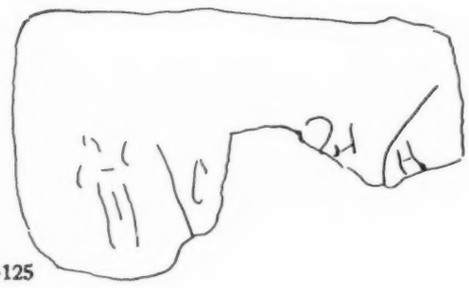


Oe135

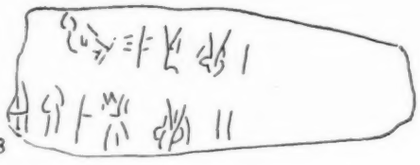
Oe137

Oe140


Oe125

Oe126

Oe127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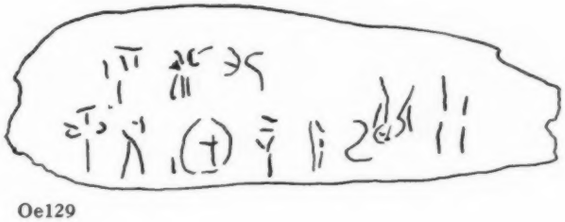
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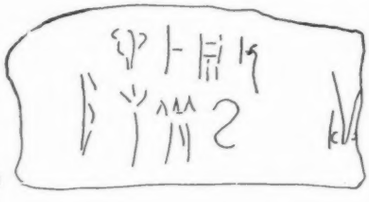
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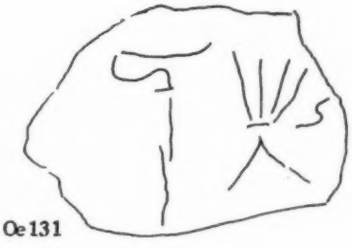
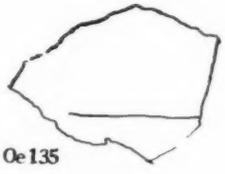
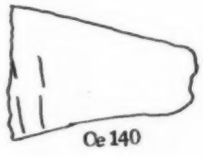

Oe131

Oe132

Oe133


Oe135

Oe137

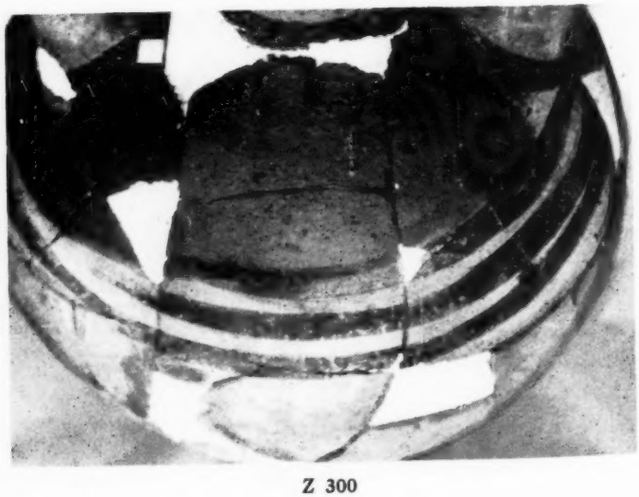

Oe140

Oe134: See pp. 56–57
Oe136: See pp. 56–57

Z 201

Z 202

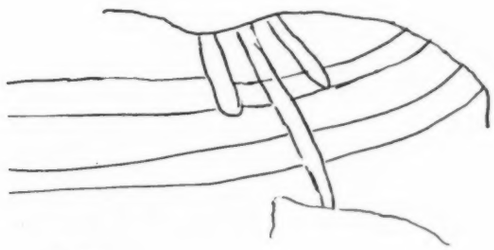
Z 204



Z 300

Z 206

Z 205
Z 207



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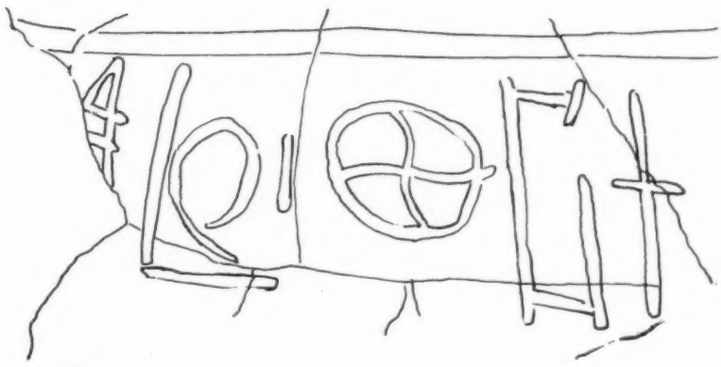
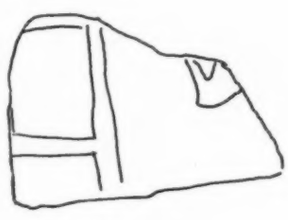


Z 202

Z 203

Z 204



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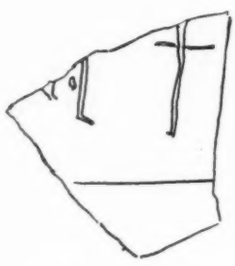
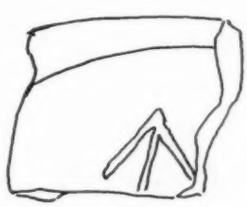


Z 206



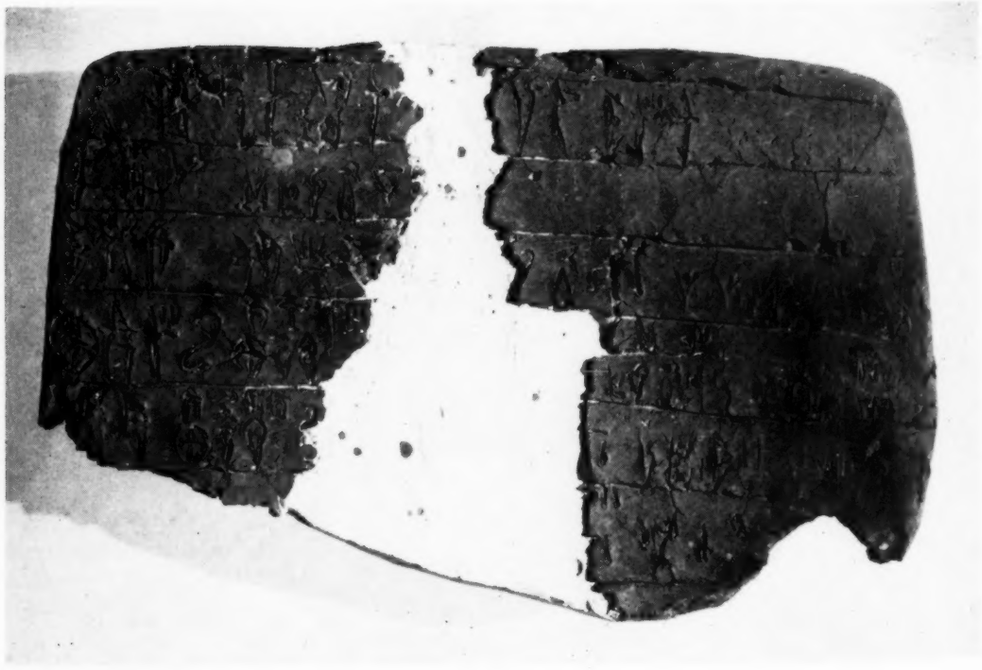
Z 207

Z 300

Wt501 Wt502 Wt503 Wt504 Wt505 Wt506

Wt507

X 508



Ge602

Wt501

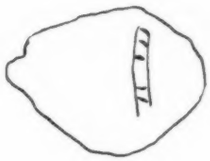
Wt502

Wt503

Wt504

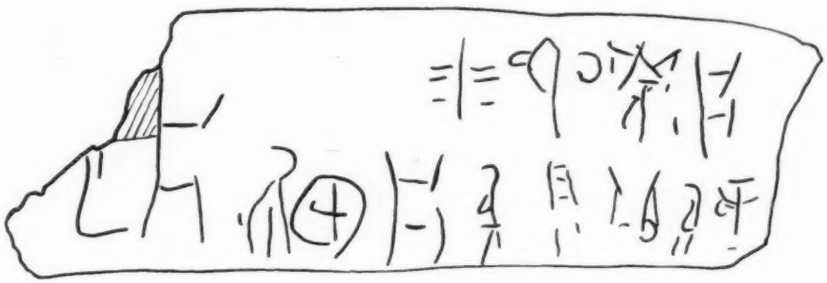
Wt505

Wt506 obv



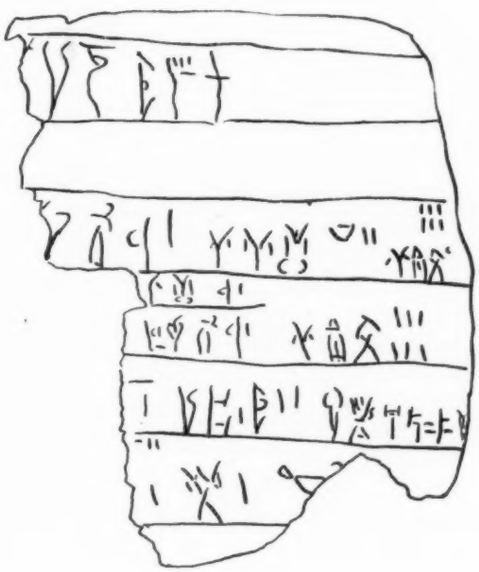
Wt506 rev

Wt507



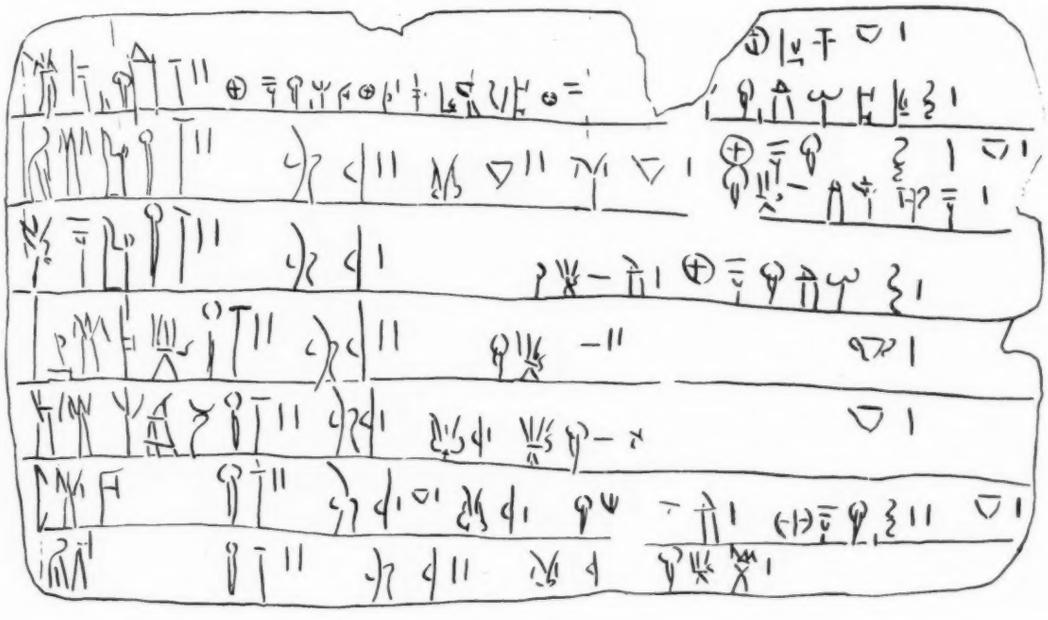
X 508

Ge602

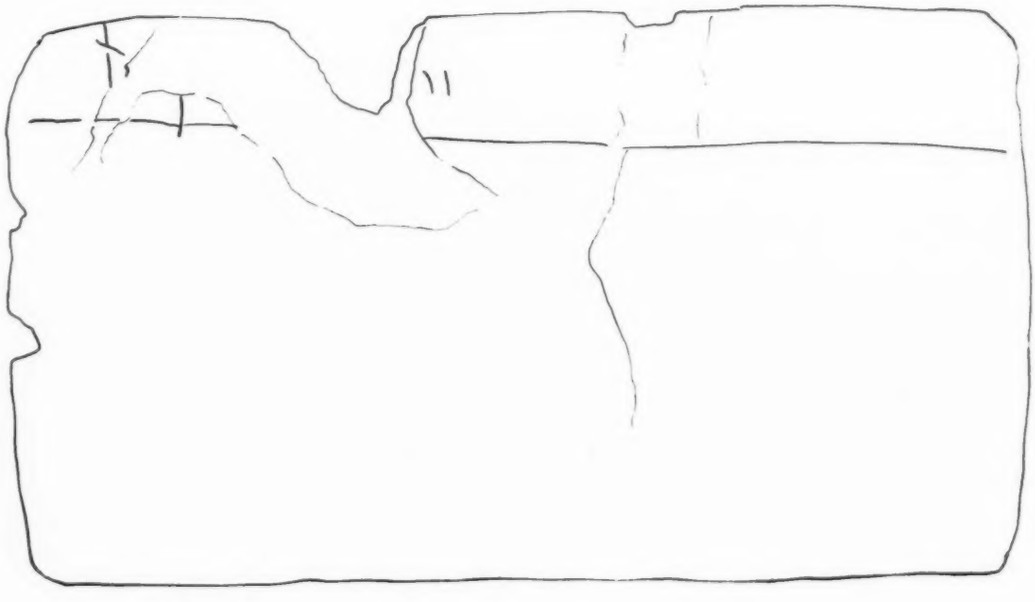


Ge603 obv

Ge603 rev



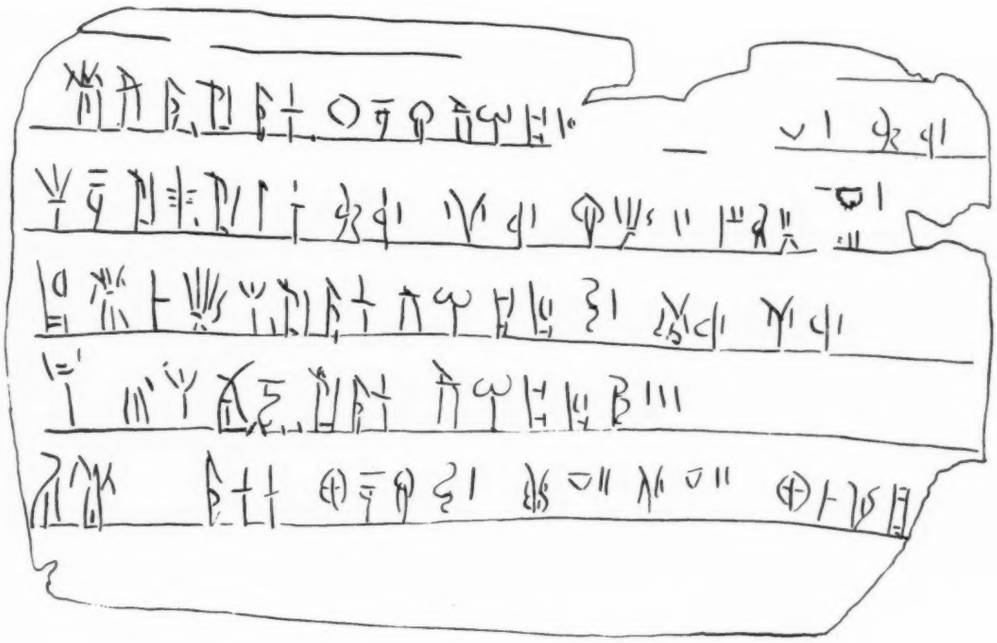
Ge603 obv



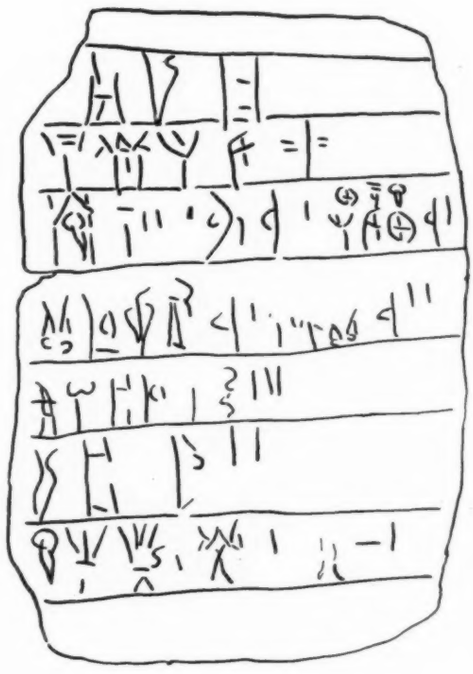
Ge603 rev

Ge604

Ge606

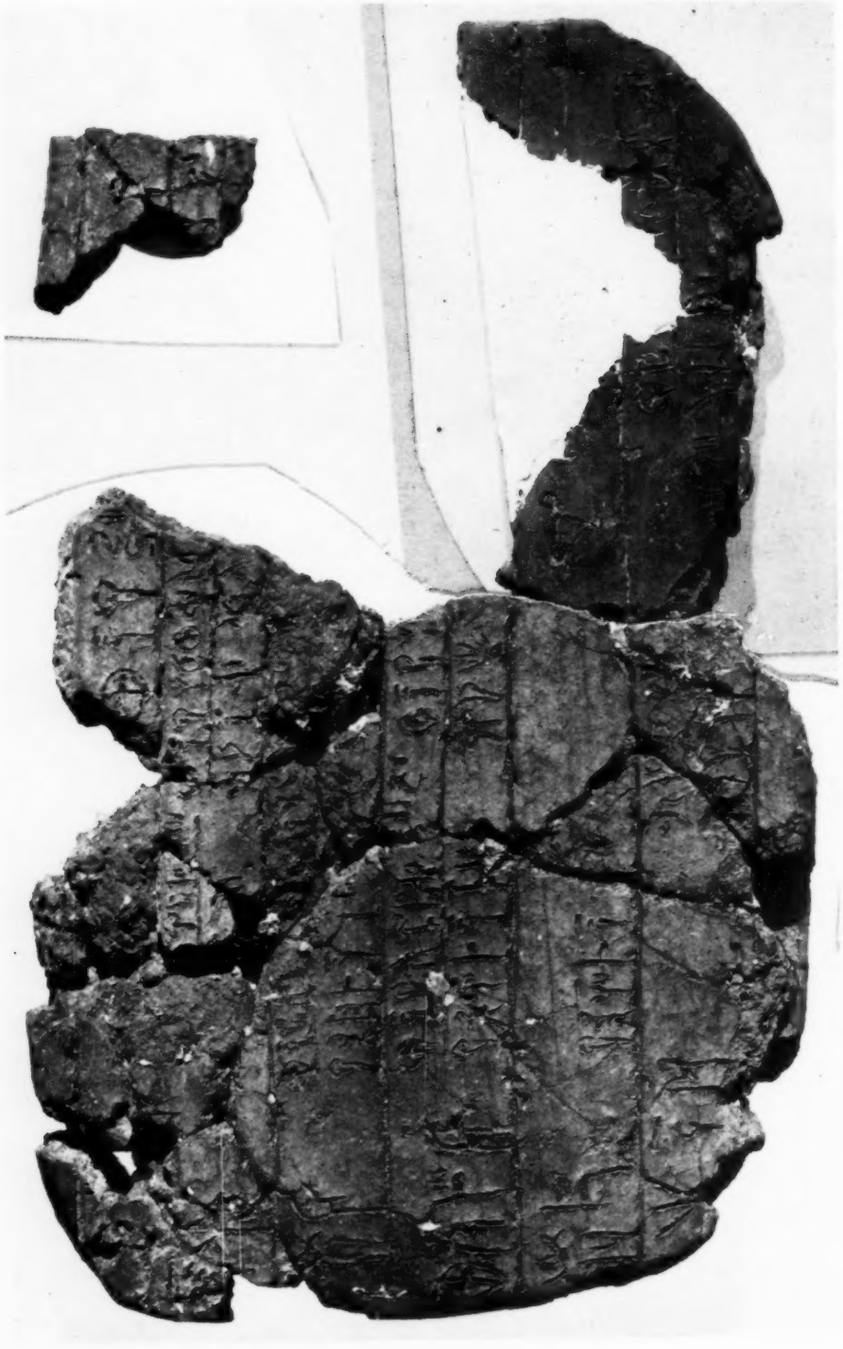


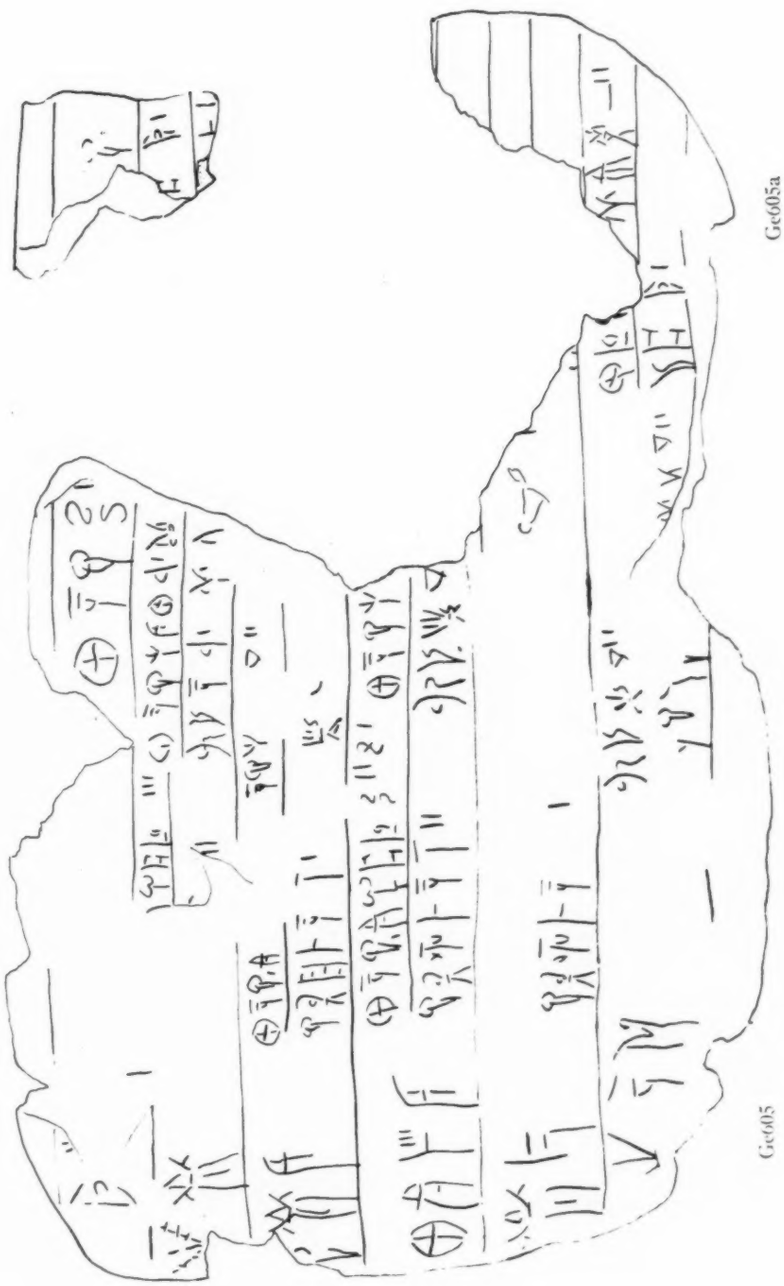
Ge604



Ge606

Ge605: See pp. 70–71.

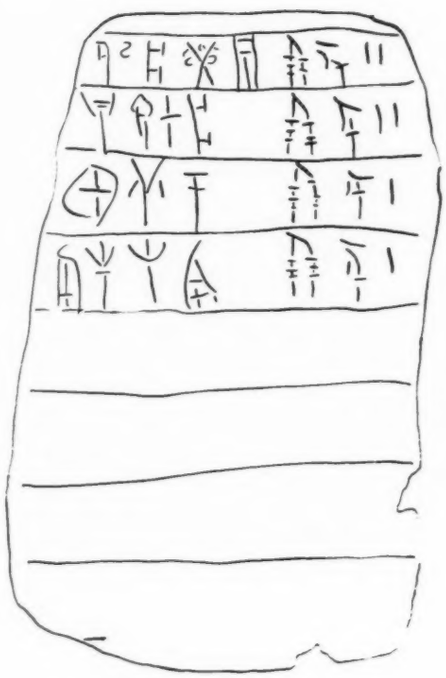

Ge605a
Ge605


Ge605a
Ge605

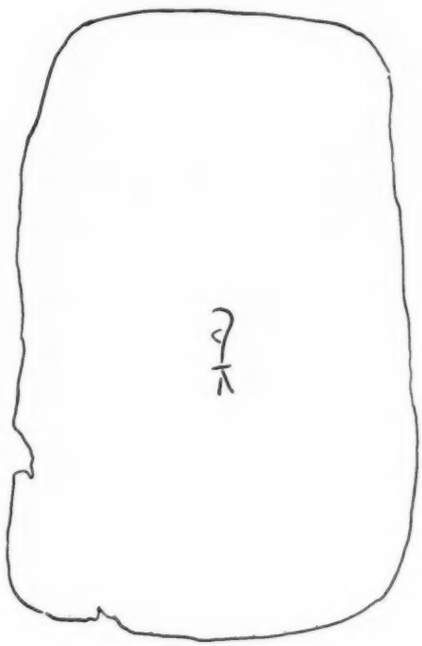
Go610 obv

Go610 rev

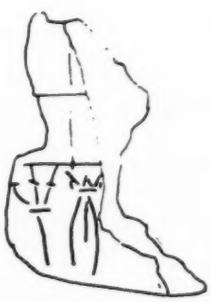
Ge608b Ge608a



Go610 obv



Go610 rev



Ge608b

Ge608a

Au609: See pp. 74–75.

Au609 obv

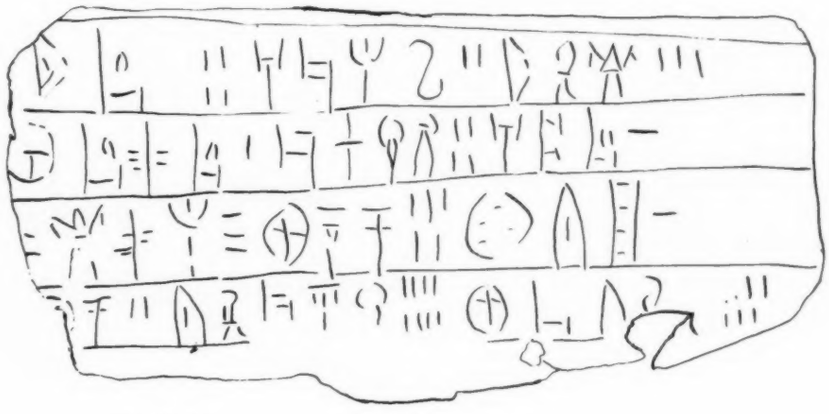
Au609 rev

Ue611 obv

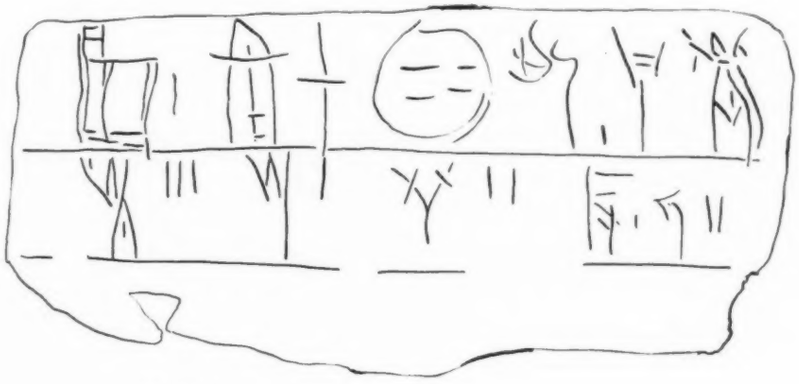
Ue611 rev

Au609 obv

Au609 rev



Ue611 obv



Ue611 rev

Go610: See pp. 72–73.

APPENDIX

INSCRIBED AND MARKED OBJECTS AND MASON'S MARKS FOUND AT MYCENAE

These signs and marks do not necessarily belong to the Mycenaean (Linear B) script, or to any other single script. Aside from the mason's marks, they need have been made neither at Mycenae, nor by Mycenaeans.

[208] Stone pestle, marked with a sign, *Praktika* 1889: 19.

[209] Stone vase, National Museum no. 2878, with marks on handle, Tsountas, *Mykenai:* 214, Athens, 1893.

[210]

[210] Amphora, National Museum no. 2924, which with the similar but uninscribed no. 2925 was found in Tomb 58, inscribed on one handle, V. Grace, The Canaanite jar, *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman on the occasion of her 75th birthday*, pl. IX, 5, 6, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1956.

[211] Ingot with mark, *Jour. Internatl. d'Archéologique Numismatique* **9**: 171, pls. 4, 5, 1906; Seltman, *Athens, its history and coinage*, 4, figs. 3, 4, Cambridge, University Press, 1924.

[212–213] Faience inlays with marks, from Tomb 102, National Museum no. 4912, *Jour. Hellenic Stud.* **24**: 329, fig. 3, 1904.

[214–216] Faience inlays with marks on reverse, from Shaft Grave IV, National Museum nos. 556, 560, Evans, *Palace of Minos* I: 484, and note 1, fig. 347 A, B (*cf.* figs. 309 *d*, 346), London, MacMillan, 1921.

[217] Mason's mark on stone from Acropolis wall, *Revue des Études Grecques* **18**: 78, 1905.

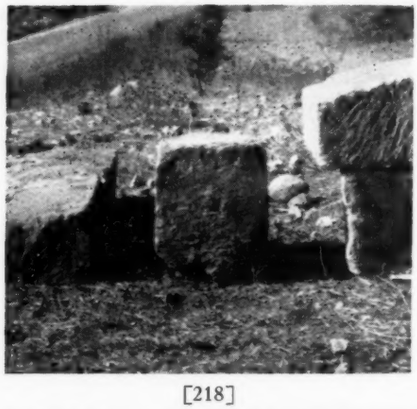
[218–219] Mason's marks, both alike, on two poros blocks from the Treasury of Atreus, *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 23, 1939: 942.

[220] Mason's mark on poros block just south of the Grave Circle by the South House, 1950.

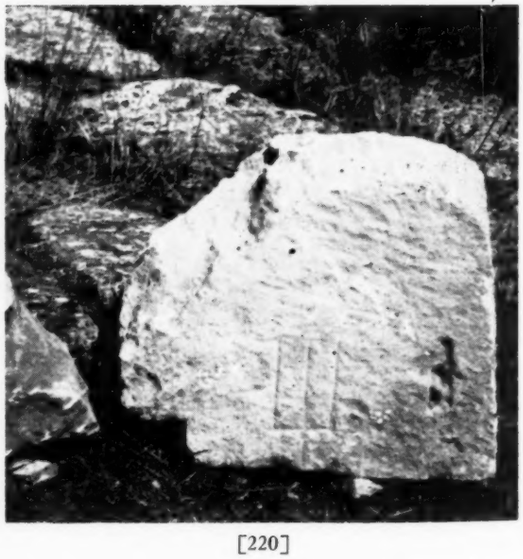
[221–223] Pot-marks, Nauplia Museum, Stubbings, *Mycenaean pottery from the Levant:* 50, nos. F 1–3, Cambridge, University Press, 1951.

[224] Amphora, National Museum no. 4569, from Tomb 95, of the same type as no. 2924, inscribed on both handles, V. Grace, *op. cit.*, pl. X, 1, 5, 6.

[601] Amphora, from Citadel House, storeroom, 1954, of the same type, with design now faintly painted in red on shoulder, *Annual of the British School at Athens* **50**: 179, pl. 20 *b*, 1955.



[218]



[220]

[224]

[601]

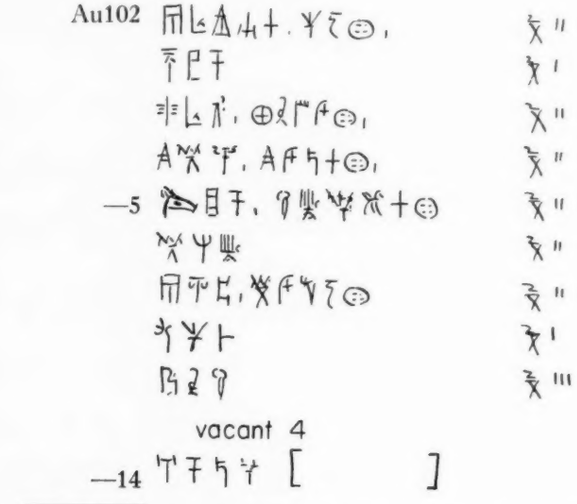
THE TEXTS OF THE MYCENAEAN LINEAR B INSCRIPTIONS FROM MYCENAE IN COPIES AND TRANSLITERATIONS

Copies and transliterations of all the Mycenae texts are presented here, both of those inscriptions already published (*MT I*) and of those published here for the first time. The system of transliteration is that followed in *The Knossos Tablets*, edited by Ventris, with the addition of two new signs: the ideogram in the tablet Go610, to which Ventris has assigned the number **134*, and the first sign of Ue611 reverse, to which he has given the number **188*. The apparatus to the texts exhibits the divergence in readings obtained from various autopsies and from the study of the photographs.

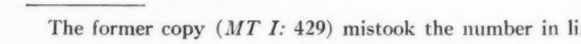
SIGLA

- B Bennett (autopsy and photographs)
- C Chadwick (autopsy)
- M Meriggi (transliterations of the copies in *MT I*, in I testi micenei in trascrizione, *Athenaeum* **33**, 83–84, 1955)
- V Ventris (autopsy)
- *Docs.* Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*.

Au102



vacant 4



Au102

Wa-ra-pi-si-ro I-jo-qe MAN 2
Na-su-to MAN 1
Te-ra-wo Ka-ri-se-u-qe MAN 2
E-ke-ne E-u-po-ro-qe[MAN 2
*85-ja-to Ko-no-pu$_2$-du-ro-qe MAN 2
ke-re-no MAN 2
Wa-a$_2$-ta De-u-ki-jo-qe MAN 2
Mo-i-da MAN 1
o-ri-ko MAN 3

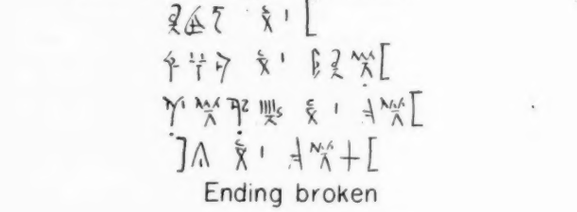
vacant 4

a-to-po-qo [ ]

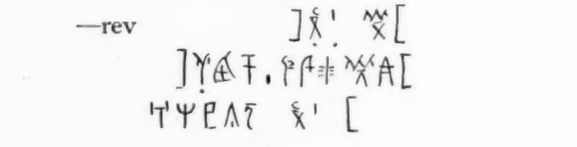
The former copy (*MT I:* 429) mistook the number in line 6.

Au609

Beginning broken



Ending broken



vacat

-r2]𐀳𐀦𐀍 V: first sign possibly 𐀀

Au609

Beginning broken

Ri-wi-jo MAN 1 [
Do-qo-so MAN 1 Pe-ri-ke[
Sa-ke-me-no MAN 1 E-ke-[
.]-ti MAN 1 E-ke-ro[

Ending broken

]MAN 1 de[
.]-sa-wi-to do-u-te-ke-e[
A-re-su-ti-jo MAN 1 [

vacat

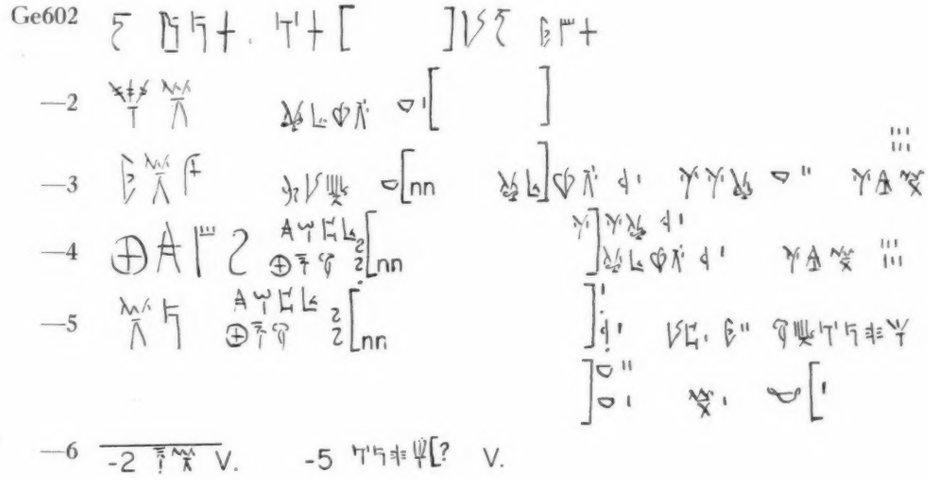
to-so-de [

2 *Pe-ri-ke*[: *Pe-ri-ke-*[*re-we?*
r2:]-*di-wi-to* V; first sign possibly *ke*.

Fo101	a-ne-a_2	QT 3	Pa-ṇa-ki	QT 1
	Ma-no	QT 1	A-na-*88	QT 1
	To-ti-ja	QT 1	We-i-we-sa	QT 1
	Ke-ra-so	QT 1		
—5	pi-we-ri-si	LM 1	Tu-mi-[ ]	QT 1
	Ko-ma-ta	QT 1	Na-ta-ra-ma	QT [1
	Pe-ta[ ]	QT 1	Pu-ka-ro	[QT 1
	O-ta-ki	QT 1 [ ]		
	e-ro-pa-ke-ta	OIL 1		
—10	a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i	QT 4		
	vacant 4			
—15	to-so	OIL 2	LM 1	QT 1

2 *A-na-*88:* The doubtful sign here transliterated as **88* must now be considered unique, since the sign in PY Aa61 (15) is now identified as *ra*$_3$. Since the photograph does not show this sign clearly, it had been suggested that this sign and that at Pylos were to be identified; but this now seems most unlikely, although it has been suggested that this sign **88* is also an example of *ra*$_3$.

7 *Pe-ta*[: *Pe-ta-*[*ro*? C.



Ge602 jo o-po-ro a-ro-[ ]-mi-jo Pe-se-ro

—2	Pu_2-ke	ma-ra-tu-wo	PT 1[							
										6
—3	Pe-ke-u	ku-mi-no	PT [*nn*	ma-ra]-tu-wo	QT 1	sa-sa-ma	PT 2	sa-pi-de
		e-ru-ta-ra	[	sa]-sa-ma	QT 1			
—4	Ka-e-se-we	ka-na-ko	LB [*nn*	] ma-ra-tu-wo	QT 1	sa-pi-de 6		
		e-ru-ta-ra	[	]!				
—5	Ke-po	ka-na-ko	LB [*nn*	] QT 1	mi-ta *PE* 2	ko-no a-po-te-i		
				] PT 2				
—6				] PT 1	*DE* 1	CUP [1		

1 *jo o-po-ro:* The separation of *jo* as an independent word follows from its spacing. There seems to be a mark just before the *o* in the photograph, which might have been a mark of punctuation, but its irregular position and shape are more like those of an accidental than of a deliberate mark, and it is not seen in the original tablet. Prompted by this apparent division of the first sign from the rest, I re-examined the photographs of such tablets from Knossos and Pylos as seemed to provide parallels. Only in PY Un267 does any such spacing appear, and that not enough to rely upon. In PY Cn608, as in KN Og0467, the initial *jo* is not spaced, but is noticeably lower than the following *a*, but this is surely their normal difference in height. That such initial *jo*'s were separable was of course recognized even before the decipherment. In this instance we are probably justified in copying it as a separate word.

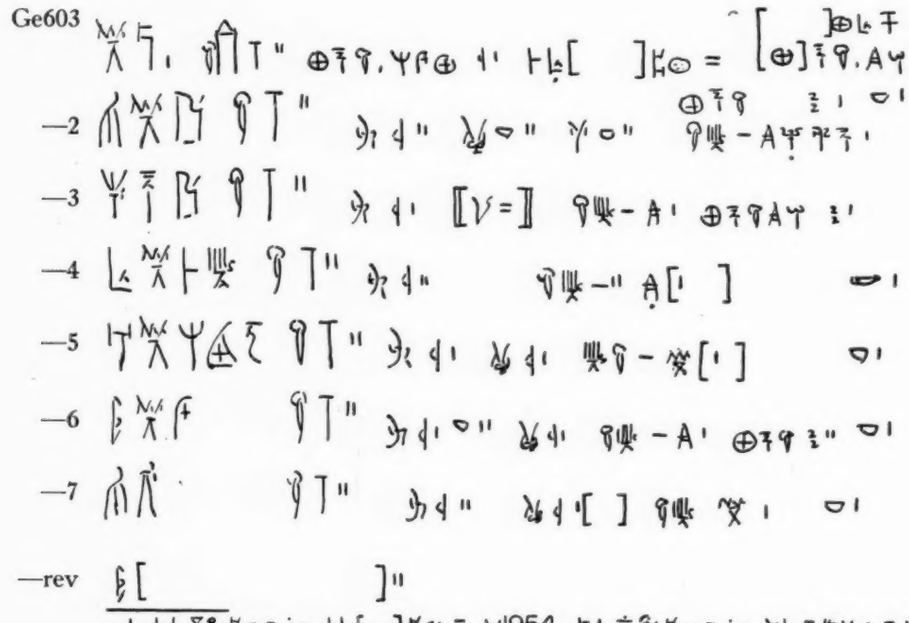
a-ro-[ma-ta? Palmer.

do-si]-mi-jo? *Docs.*

2 *Pu$_2$-ke: Na-ke* V. *Cf.* in the first instance the name Ge605.2 and Ge608.4; and in the second *Pu-ke* Ge604.5, *Pu-ke-o* Ge603.2, noting the objections of Chadwick to the identification of *Pu$_2$-ke* with *Pu-ke*(*-o*).

5: The horizontal and almost vertical strokes at the beginning of the right-hand portion of this line cannot be understood as parts of a known sign, and in any case a number would be expected before the *mi-ta* which follows them. In lines 4 and 6, however, the scribe has tried to save the space he used too freely in line 2, by writing *sa-sa-ma* above *ma-ra-tu-wo*, both of which we might safely restore in lines 5 and 6. In line 4, a high and carelessly drawn dividing line appears to separate the two registers; the end of a similar line will then be preserved in the horizontal stroke in line 5. The vertical stroke then becomes the number 1, and I take the even broken edge before it, despite its backward slant, to be the trace of the vertical stroke of QT. The possibility should be confirmed by autopsy.

a-po-te-i: The reading of this word is difficult, since the last sign is over the edge of the tablet and invisible in the photograph. An approximation of Ventris' drawing from autopsy is given. The difficulty in recognizing the sign is undoubtedly the result of the crowding of the signs and the need to write in a cramped position over the edge of the tablet. On autopsy it seems that despite its distortion, the last sign must be read as *i*. We might also expect a number after the word, since we would normally take it with *ko-no*, which is elsewhere followed by *E*(*-ne-me-na*) or *DE*, and by numbers. But there is no number visible. Ventris, however, was not sure that the word was complete.



-1 i.e. = V1954 i.e. = V1955 = C.
-2 over erasure: B1954. -5 over [[ ]]. -erased ruling apparent passim.

Ge603 [ ]ka-ra-to CUP 1

—1 Ke-po *KO* CONDIMENT DM 2 ka-na-ko re-u-ka QT 1 da-ṛạ[ ]ta-qe 20 [ka]-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra LB 1 ka-na-ko LB 1 CUP 1

—2 Pu-ke-o *KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 2 *MA* PT 2 *SA* PT 2 ko-no 10 e-ṇẹ-me-na 1

—3 I-na-o *KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 1 ⟦*MI* 20⟧ ko-no 10 *E* 1 ka-na-ko e-ru LB 1

—4 Ra-ke-da-no *KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 2 ko-no 12 *E* [1] CUP 1

—5 A-ke-re-wi-jo *KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 1 *MA* QT 1 no-ko 10 *DE* [1] CUP 1

—6 Pe-ke-u *KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 1 PT 2 *MA* QT 1 ko-no 10 *E* 1 ka-na-ko LB 2 CUP 1

—7 Pu-wo *KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 2 *MA* QT 1[ ] ko-no *DE* 1 CUP 1

—rev pe-[ ]2

1: The sign-group preceding 20 begins with *da* (although Ventris first read a doubtful *pa*); the doubled horizontal stroke, and the vertical serif at its right end are paralleled in line 4; the *ra* on autopsy appears slightly doubtful. The ending *-qe* suggests the presence of two words, but the single quantity 20 makes it unlikely; the sign before *ta* is hard to recognize, but it might be a *mi*, perhaps written backward as *wo* often is, and as *pu* is in Go610; the sign after *ra* and before the most dubious *mi* is quite unrecognizable. Ventris, whose drawings from autopsy are copied as well as may be, and Chadwick read the sign before *ta* as a doubtful *ki*. It is tempting to compare the erased *MI* 20 in line 3, in which the similarity of quantity might suggest that *MI* and the doubtful words in line 1 represent the same commodity, but no useful suggestion for the reading can be formed from this hypothesis. The reading *pą-ra-zą-ḳi-ta-qe* 20, ascribed above to Chadwick, is rather an interpretation of the drawings which precede it, tentatively suggested by Ventris, tentatively accepted by Chadwick, all before the possibility of reading *-mi-* was suggested. Chadwick now suggests *da-ra-⟨pa₂⟩?*

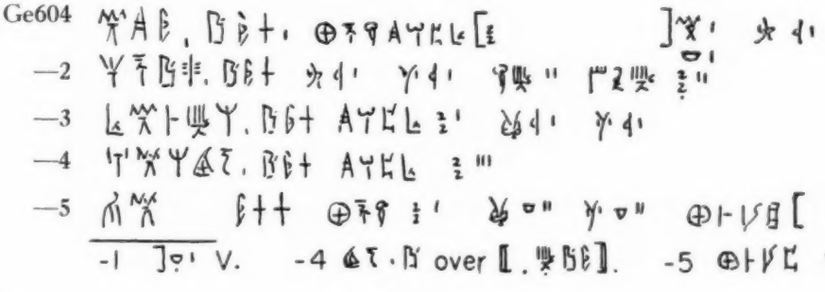
3: Note that the sign *i* has the additional strokes which appear with *za* (Oe122), while they are omitted in the same hand's other example of the same word, 604.2.

e-ru: e-ru⟨-ta-ra⟩.

4: erasure? *Docs.*

5 *no-ko:* Surely simply *lapsus styli* for *ko-no.*

r: The *pe-*[is followed by another sign with the base a vertical stroke; *Pe-*[*se-ro* might be restored; *me-*[*Docs.*



Ge604 Ke-e-pe o-pe-ro ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra [LB] *DE* 1 *KU* QT 1 CUP 1

—2 I-na-o-te o-pe-ro *KU* QT 1 *SA* QT 1 ko-no 2 se-ri-no LB 2

—3 Ra-ke-da-no-re o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra LB 1 *MA* QT 1 *SA* QT 1

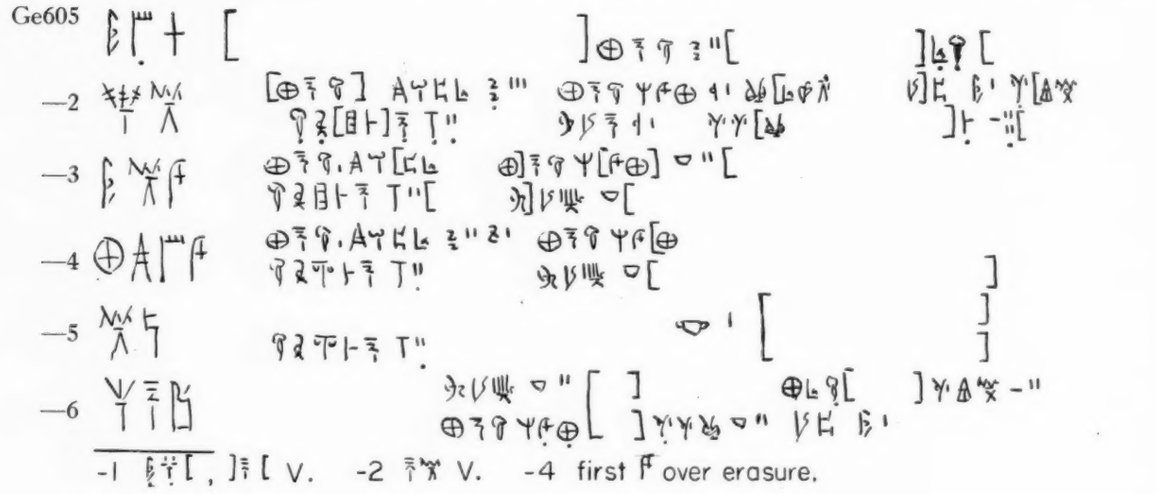
—4 A-ke-re-wi-jo o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra LB 3

—5 Pu-ke pe-ro-ro ka-na-ko LB 1 *MA* PT 2 *SA* PT 2 ka-da-mi-ja [

1 *DE:* CUP V

5 *Pu-ke pe-ro-ro: pu-ke⟨-o o-⟩pe-ro⟨-ro⟩ Docs.; ka-da-mi-ja: ka-da-mi-ta* V

Ge605



-1 [,]𐄁 [V. -2 𐄁 V. -4 first 𐄀 over erasure.

Ge605

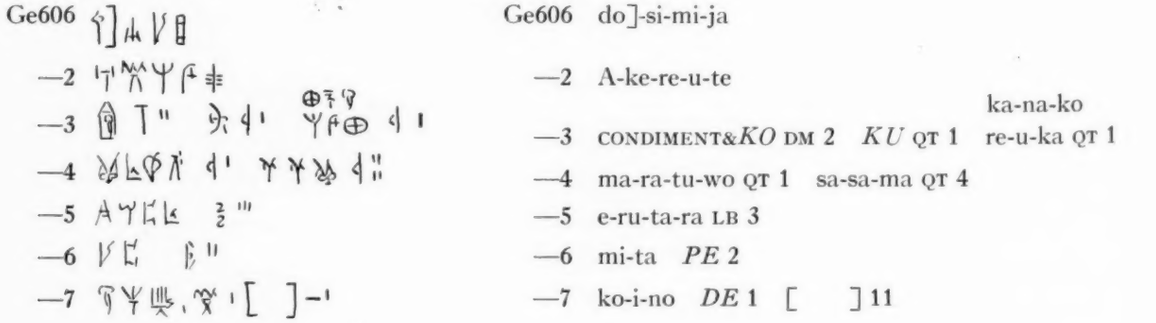
1	Pe-ṣẹ-ro	[	] ka-na-ko LB 2[		ka-]ṛạ-ḳọ [
		[ka-na-ko] e-ru-ta-ra LB 3	ka-na-ko re-u-ka QT 1	ma-[ra-tu-wo	mi]-ta *PE* 1 ṣạ-[pi-de
2	Pu_2-ke	ḳọ-ṛị-[ja-da]-ṇạ DM 2	ku-mi-na QT 1	sa-sa-[ma	]ḍạ 14[
		ka-na-ko e-ru-[ta-ra	ka]-na-ko re-[u-ka] PT 2	[	
3	Pe-ke-u	ko-ri-ja-da-na DM 2 [	ku]-mi-no PT [*nn*		
		ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra LB 2 DR 1	ka-na-ko re-u-[ka		
4	Ka-e-se-u	ko-ri-a_2-da-na DM 2	ku-mi-no PT [*nn*		
5	Ke-po	ko-ri-a_2-da-na DM 2	CUP 1		
		ku-mi-no PT 2		ka-ra-ḳọ[	] sa-pi-de 12
6	I-na-o	ka-na-ko re-u-ka [	] sa-sa-ma PT 2	mi-ta *PE* 1	

1 *Pe-se-ro: pe-qo-*[V;]*ṛạ-ḳọ:*]*-na* V.

2 *Pu_2-ke: Na-ke* V;]*ḍạ:* the sign before 14 could perhaps equally well be]*-te*. It is impossible to say whether the sign is used as an ideogram (or abbreviation) or as the last sign of a word.

Notice that the ruling of the registers is not continuous, but that the left-hand rule, *ko-ri-ja-da-na*, and *ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* were probably written before the right-hand rule. One might, if the tablet were more nearly complete, perhaps recover the order in which all the words were written.

Ge606



Ge606 do]-si-mi-ja

—2 A-ke-re-u-te

—3 CONDIMENT&*KO* DM 2 *KU* QT 1 ka-na-ko re-u-ka QT 1

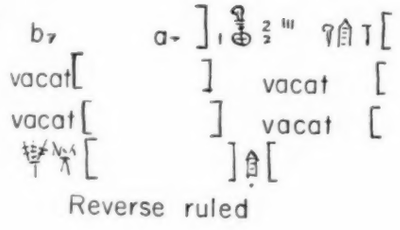
—4 ma-ra-tu-wo QT 1 sa-sa-ma QT 4

—5 e-ru-ta-ra LB 3

—6 mi-ta *PE* 2

—7 ko-i-no *DE* 1 [ ] 11

Ge608



Ge608] KA&NA&KO LB 3 *KO* CONDIMENT DM [*nn*

vacat [ ] *vacat* [

vacat [ ] *vacat* [

Pu$_2$-ke [ ] CONDIMENT [

Go610

Go610 Me-ta-*47-wa **134* LM 2

A-ko-ro-ta **134* LM 2

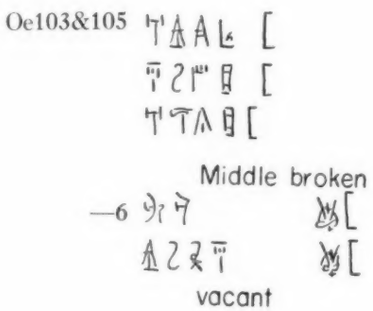
Ka-sa-to **134* LM 1

Pu-i-re-wi **134* LM 1

vacant

—rev ri

Oe103&105



Oe103&105 A-pi-e-ra [

Di-we-se-ja [

A-qi-ti-ja [

indefinite number of lines missing

—6 Ku-so WOOL [

pi-we-ri-di WOOL [

vacant

Oe104&116

Oe104&116] WOOL 12

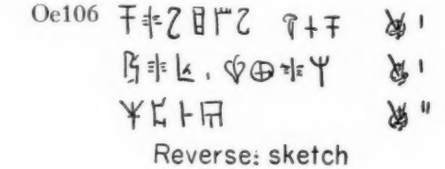
a-[ ] WOOL 10

e-te-[WOOL] 3

ka-[WOOL] 2

2 *a*-[: *a-ko?*... M. To read the broken sign after *a* as *ko* is possible, but it would be misshapen far beyond any other among these tablets, or if the crooked line which appears between the *a* and the bottom section of the *ko?* be taken as an accident so that the whole top section of the sign is missing, then the space between *a* and *ko* would be excessive. If that crooked line is to be disregarded, a better reading suggested by the spacing and by a faint indication in the photograph would be *a-qi*-[, but we really lose no useful information in reading it more cautiously as *a*-[.

Oe106

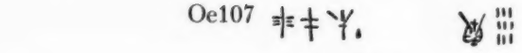


Oe106 to-te-we-ja-se-we ko-ro-to WOOL 1

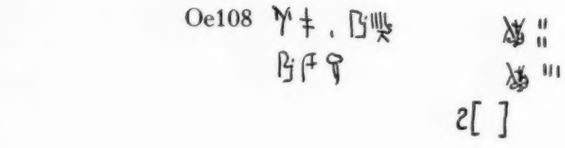
O-te-ra tu-ka-te-re WOOL 1

I-ta-da-wa WOOL 2

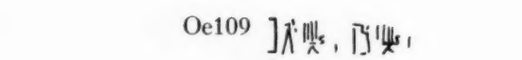
1: *ko-re-te* M, typographical error.

Oe107 
vacant

Oe107 te-pa-i WOOL 9
vacant

Oe108 

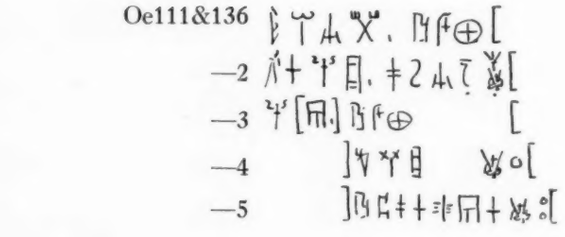
Oe108 sa-pa o-no WOOL 4
o-u-ko WOOL 3
we[ ]

Oe109 
] vacant

Oe109]wo-no o-no
] *vacant*

Oe110

Oe110 re-ka-sa ta-ra-si-ja WOOL 14[
a-ti-ke-ne-ja WOOL 10

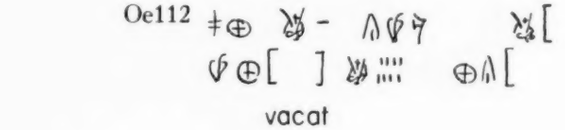
Oe111&136 

Oe111&136 pe-ru-si-nwa o-u-ka [
i-[
—2 wo-ro-ne-ja pa-we-si-jo WOOL [
—3 ne-[wa] o-u-ka [
—4]-ki-ni-ja WOOL 100[
—5]o-ta pa-ro te-wa-ro WOOL 200[

2: *woro(n)eja pawesi tije...* M, *pa-we-si*[*Docs.* The *-jo* of the original copy (*MT I:* 432) is certainly doubtful in the photograph, and strokes assigned to *jo* together with others ignored by reading *jo* could make a sign *ti*, but not a well-made example. It would be as high as the next sign, read either *-je* or WOOL, and there are confused traces, perhaps of part of a sign, above it. Whether one reads *-je* or WOOL, the sign is distorted, but the distortion is very similar to that of the sign WOOL in lines 4 and 5, and in the photograph there are traces just at the broken edge which suggest the presence of the number *100*. The sign *i* above it is perfectly clear.

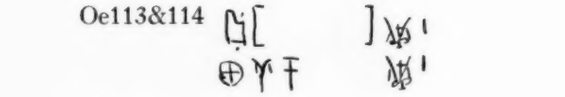
3 *ne-*[*wa?:* Palmer (1955: 36).

5: Meriggi divides the series of signs into three words *...ota paro Tewaro*, which is of course perfectly possible, although there is no indication in punctuation or spacing of the division which has been followed here, but is by no means certain;]*o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro MT I, Docs.*

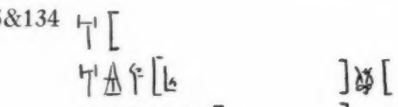
Oe112 
vacat

Oe112 pa-ka WOOL 10 ti-tu-so WOOL [
tu-ka-[ ] WOOL 8 ka-ti-[
vacat

2: possibly *tu-ka-ta*[

Oe113&114 

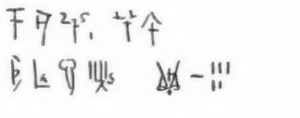
Oe113&114 o-[ ] WOOL 1
Ka-sa-to WOOL 1

Oe115&134 

Oe115&134 a-[
A-pi-do-[ra] WOOL [
A-ko-ro-ta WOOL [

Oe117
Bottom broken or cut

Oe117 a-to-po-qo [
Bottom broken or cut

Oe118 

Oe118 to-so-ne qo-zo
pe-ra-ko-no WOOL 15

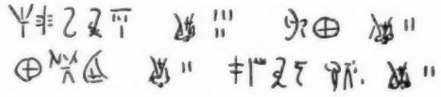
Oe119

Oe119 a-ke-ti-ri-[
ka-na-[

1: *a-ke-ti-ri-[ja Docs.*

Oe120

Oe120 o-u-ko WOOL 2

Oe121 

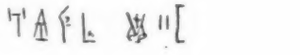
Oe121 i-te-we-ri-di WOOL 5 ku-ka WOOL 2
ka-ke-wi WOOL 2 pa-se-ri-jo ko-wo WOOL 2

Oe122

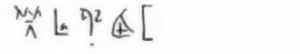
Oe122 za-ku-si-jo WOOL [

Oe123

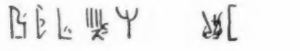
Oe123 A-*79 WOOL [

Oe124 

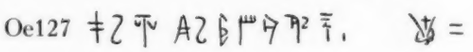
Oe124 A-pi-do-ra WOOL 2[

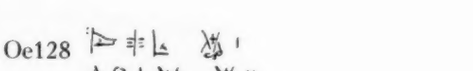
Oe125 

Oe125 ke-ra-mẹ-wi[

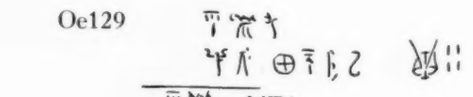
Oe126 

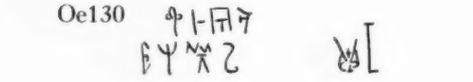
Oe126 O-pe-ra-no-re WOOL [

Oe127  Oe127 pa-we-a$_2$ e-we-pe-se-so-me-na WOOL 20

Oe128  Oe128 *85-te-ra WOOL 1
pi-ko-da-ke WOOL 2

The former copy (*MT I:* 435) mistook the number in line 1.

Oe129  Oe129 di-du-mo
ne-wo ka-na-pe-we WOOL 4
di-du-mo: di-ke MT I.

Oe130  Oe130 pa$_2$-da-wa-so
pe-re-ke-we WOOL [

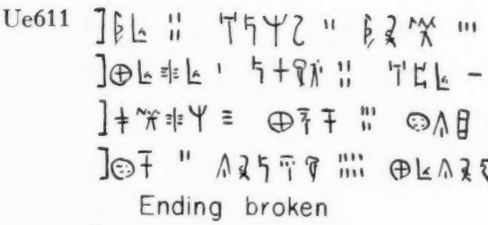
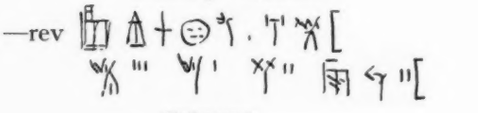
Oe131 Oe131 qi-no-[

Oe132 Oe132 o-pe-[
a-pi-ję-[
a-pi-ję-[: a-pi-mą-[MT I.

Oe133 Oe133]4

Oe137 Oe137]1

Oe140 Oe140]4

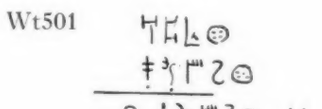
Ue611 
Ending broken
—rev 
erasure

Ue611]pe-ra 4 a-po-re-we 2 pe-ri-ke 3
]ka-ra-te-ra 1 po-ro-ko-wo 4 a-ta-ra 10
]pa-ke-te-re 30 ka-na-to 5 qe-ti-ja 10
]qe-to 2 ti-ri-po-di-ko 8 ka-ra-ti-ri-jo 7
—rev **188* pi-ro-qe-mo a-ke[
OLIVE&*TI* 3 OLIVE 1 FIG 2 WINE LM 2 [
erasure

1]*pe-ra: ku*]*-pe-ra* V., *ku-pe-ra Docs.*

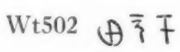
3: *pa*]*-ke-te-re Docs.*

r1: The space between the first sign and the second leaves it doubtful whether it is to be taken with *pi-ro-qe-mo* or not. The mark in the drawing is apparently neither a number nor punctuation. The first sign may be either phonetic or, if the lack of a number after it can be explained, an ideogram.

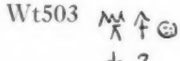
Wt501 

Wt501 a-ta-ra-qe
pa-mo-se-we-qe

2: *e-ku-*, *e-mo-*, and *pa-ku-* might be considered as variant readings.

Wt502 

Wt502 ka-na-to

Wt503 

Wt503 ke-zo-qe-
te-we

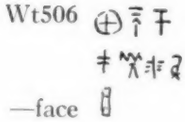
Wt504

Wt504 qe-ti-ja

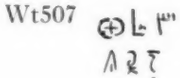
Wt505

Wt505 pa-pu$_2$-to

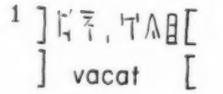
pa-pu$_2$-to: pa-ri-to V

Wt506 
—face

Wt506 ka-na-to
pa-ke-te-ri-
—face ja

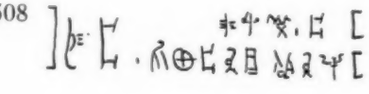
Wt507 

Wt507 ka-ra-se-
ti-ri-jo

X 1 
vacat

X 1]-ta-na a-ti-ja[
vacat

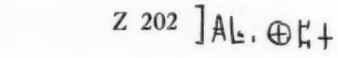
1: *A*]*-ta-na a-ti-ja-*[*e* V.

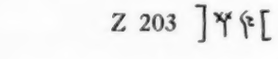
X 508 

X 508 te-pa$_2$-de ta [
]-ze-ta pu-ka-ta-ri-ja ma-ri-ne[

Z 201 Z 201 *zo*

The cross-like mark on the spout of this and many stirrup jars (figs. 33–35) is not to be taken as writing.

Z 202  Z 202]e-ra ka-ta-ro

Z 203  Z 203]-ni-do-[

Z 204: *MT I* read *ja*. Comparison with Z 300 has led to the withdrawal of this reading.

Z 206: Meriggi reads *...ke?-ro....* Since the preserved traces would permit several other readings as well as this, it seems best not to present any reading.

Z 207 Z 207 *zo*

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

1. THE SYLLABARY AND IDEOGRAPHIC SIGNS APPEARING IN THE MYCENAE TABLETS

By the addition of the inscriptions found in 1953 and 1954 the syllabary known to have been used at Mycenae more nearly approaches the full repertory seen in the Pylos and Knossos tablets. The only phonetic signs for which values have been generally agreed upon and which have not yet been found at Mycenae are *ai* (**43*), *mu* (**23*), *ra*$_2$ (**76*), and *ra*$_3$ (**33*). The rest owe their lack of a value largely to their rarity and are not likely to appear at Mycenae until considerably more texts have been found. The only surely phonetic sign at Mycenae still unexampled elsewhere is the doubtful sign in Fo101.2 at the end of the second word. Since the sign at Pylos with which it was previously suggested that it be identified (*MT I:* 140) has itself been identified with *ra*$_3$ (*cf. PT II:* xv), with which this present sign cannot be identified, this sign is left as **88*, a unique and doubtful sign. In Ge603.1 there is probably not a new sign, but only a damaged and distorted known sign now unrecognizable. The first sign of Ue611.r1 is inexplicable at the moment and may turn out to be either phonetic or ideographic. The apparent punctuation in the photograph and drawing is not found in the original. It has been called an ideogram and assigned the number **188* until it is explained and a more suitable place found for it. In complexity it is indeed not far from **63*, and if it is a phonetic sign it might be considered as a possibly variant form of **63*. The widest variation in shapes is, of course, most often found among the least frequent of the signs.

Among the new tablets from the House of Sphinxes we have at least six new ideographic uses of phonetic signs, a new ligature of three phonetic signs, a new ligature of a phonetic sign and an ideogram, and the new sign **188*, possibly an ideogram. The values of most of these additions to the ideographic repertory are easily discovered, since they are abbreviations of words spelled out elsewhere in the same or related texts.

For some of the phonetic signs the evidence provided by various ways of spelling certain words may be seen generally to confirm the close relationships of their values as established in Ventris' decipherment. There is first the pair *Pu-ke*, *Pu*$_2$*-ke* (Ge604.5, –602.2) in which the difference in spelling corresponds to the difference in the hand, unless, as Chadwick suggests, they are not the same word at all, and would have only an accidental similarity of sound. The rest are different spellings by a single scribe: *ku-mi-na* and *ku-mi-no* (Ge605.2, .4); *ko-ri-ja-da-na* and *ko-ri-a*$_2$*-da-na* (Ge605.3, .4), with which may be compared the spellings at Knossos, *ko-ri-ja-do-no*, and at Pylos, *ko-ri-a*$_2$*-da-na; Ke-po* and *Ke-e-pe* (Ge603.1, –604.1), in which the variation might seem at least partly due to inflection; *ko-no* and *ko-i-no* (Ge603.7, –606.7), of which a third variant *no-ko* (Ge603.5) is simply a graphic error whose origin we should be most interested to know. There may be a similar error in Ge605.5: *pe-ro-ro* (for *o-pe-ro?*) These variations in spelling give additional evidence, were it now needed, of the phonetic relationships between the pairs of signs involved.

2. THE PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE MYCENAE TABLETS

The Mycenaean script used at Knossos, Mycenae, and Pylos is remarkably uniform in general, despite the exceptional work of some scribes who use recognizable but unparalleled shapes for certain signs. Whether they do so from a desire for an individual style or as a result of their training we cannot yet tell. It should eventually be possible to make out the history and development of the Mycenaean script, to put into their relative places the scribes whose work we know in the tablets, and perhaps to distinguish the schools which trained the scribes and whose traditions they followed. In such a history the distinctive forms of signs which are characteristic of groups of scribes or of one of the deposits of tablets will be the principal evidence used. Until the study of the handwriting is well under way it is impossible to say which forms will prove important. One can here do no more than point out the few signs at Mycenae which seem to have peculiar shapes. The noticeable traits are the doubling of the base line in the two characters *ra* (**60*) and *o* (**61*), the simple forms of *ke* (**44*), *de* (**45*), and **79*, and the elaborate forms of *i* (**28*), *pu*$_2$ (**29*), and *za* (**17*). The doubling of lines which are normally single is also found in other signs at Knossos and Pylos. Examples include *a* (**8*), *so* (**12*), *si* (**41*), the small upper mark in *o* (**61*), and *ki* (**67*). It is perhaps impossible in every case to decide whether the simple form or the double is the ideal. A single scribe is likely to treat most of these signs in the same way, and it seems probable that a change in either direction could be introduced by the analogy of similar signs. A similar form of elaboration seems to be the addition of the mark made by two diagonal lines at the middle of the sign *za* (**17*), Oe122, *i* (**28*), Ge603.3, and *pu*$_2$ (**29*), Au102.5. This addition is found with these signs and with **18* at Knossos, and with *i* (**28*) at Pylos in Fr1219, –1232. It is very tempting, since the mark is found only with certain signs, to suppose that it was intended to modify the value of the signs, but it will immediately be evident that their forms have much more in common than their values, which could hardly be uniformly modified except by the addition of some sound. It would seem more likely that the

full analysis of the Knossos hands will show that it is instead a characteristic of some scribes and not of others. It should be noticed however that the same scribe who so marked the *i-* of *I-na-o* in Ge603.3 did not do so to another form of the same name, *I-na-o-te* in Ge604.2.

A study of the handwriting of the Mycenae tablets as it is seen in the photographs reproduced here (for not all of the tablets themselves have been examined for this purpose) has led to the conclusion that six scribes wrote the texts which have been found in the House of the Oil Merchant, and two more scribes those from the House of Sphinxes. In order to indicate the grounds for this probable, but naturally not quite certain, conclusion, we may begin by pointing out the criteria for separating the hands, and then continue by describing and illustrating the characteristics of each hand.

The first and most important criterion is provided by the forms of the signs. Many signs have a fairly large range of variation in shape and construction. The number of strokes used in drawing the sign is not invariable; lines crossed by other lines may be drawn either in one stroke or in two separate strokes, and sometimes single strokes may be replaced by two parallel lines in the same position. Nonessential lines may be added as if they were serifs. In place of straight lines, curves may be drawn, and simple curves may be elaborated. The proportions of the signs are not constant; lines may be relatively longer or shorter, and the angles at which lines meet may increase or decrease. Finally, the clay in which the signs are incised frequently preserved the record of the order and direction in which the strokes were drawn; a line crossing another breaks and distorts it and the end of a line can be distinguished by the clay raised up by the stylus. This variation in form from one hand to another is paralleled by a lesser variation within a single scribe's writing, as it changes from time to time. The scribe's intention may be imperfectly realized when it is distorted by irregularities in the surface, or when he is forced to make use of unusually large or small spaces. This variation greatly complicates the task of identifying the variants which signify a difference in hand.

Other criteria, perhaps generally less reliable, include first the shape and the ruling of the tablet. It appears to be the common practice for the scribe to make his own tablet and to rule it for the specific text to be inscribed on it. This is true not only at Mycenae, but also at Pylos and Knossos. Among the broad, or rectangular, tablets there may be distinguished tablets of different sizes and rectangles of different proportions; tablets carefully squared and those with rounded corners. In the long narrow tablets there are some tapered, either evenly or irregularly from one end to the other, and some which are the same width throughout; the end may be pointed, rounded, or square; and the whole may be short or long, broad or narrow. Some of these with very short texts may be halves or thirds cut from longer tablets, or even the top lines of broad tablets cut off. When the tablet itself may be handled, the profile of the tablet, flat, tapered, or rounded, thick or thin, will also reflect the scribe's normal way of forming his tablet. It may be stated as a general rule that the thicker end is taken as the left end, from which the writing starts, in the long narrow tablets. The ruling is generally compulsory for the rectangular tablets of the Linear B script, and is generally absent in Linear A. The top rule drawn may be the base for the first line of the text or it may instead define the line's upper limit, especially where the tablets are not fully squared. Furthermore, the spacing of the rules will be more or less uniform in a single hand, either determining or determined by the size of the signs. Whether rulings are used or not, the normal or average height of the signs may be taken as characteristic of a hand. The arrangement of the text on the tablet may be recognized as another criterion. In the long, narrow tablets a single line of writing may be found, or additional sign-groups may be written above the first, with or without a rule. In other tablets a columnar arrangement may be followed, or the text may be written continuously, though seldom to the extent of breaking a sign-group between two lines, as is frequently done in the less careful Linear A script.

The combination of these criteria is seen in a series of more or less distinctive individual styles. These can be seen when photographs of the tablets are spread out together, and are separated into the groups identified as the hands. The uniformity of each group, and its difference from each of the others, provide a subjective confirmation of the identification of the hands, while the general impression of an unassigned tablet may suggest in the first instance its assignment to a hand, later supported by the observation of particular characteristics.

In the study of the hands at Pylos, it has been found that the subject matter of the tablets, as indicated by the ideograms used and by the repeated formulae of sign-groups within the text, assists in identifying the scribe, almost as if there were clerks in charge of special accounts. There also, the record of the exact find-spot of each tablet and group of fragments has often given a clue to the identification of the hand, since we may assume that some files of documents written by the same scribe have been kept apart from other tablets. It has not been necessary to make use of either of these additional methods within this small and homogeneous collection.

Using such criteria as have been described, the tablets from the House of the Oil Merchant had been sorted into six groups, each of which seems reasonably consistent in its characteristics, and clearly distinct

from the others. These hands have been numbered from 51 through 56; the numbers 1 through 49 have been reserved for the hands tentatively identified at Pylos.

It seems clear that no less than two scribes wrote the tablets from the House of Sphinxes, 602–611, with possibly one or two more scribes who have left us insufficient traces of their work. The reverse of 611 might perhaps be by the same hand as the obverse, though its appearance is somewhat different, but there are not enough critical signs to be sure. The sealings found in 1953 in the doorway of Room 1 of the same house one would expect to be by the same hand as the obverse of 611, since the contents of their texts are similar and plainly related. But the difficulty of writing on the small and irregular surface of the sealings may have distorted the little evidence they give us. The sign *na* (**6*), twice repeated on the sealings, seems to have a form distinct from that in 611, but is not in itself enough among such doubtful circumstances to establish the hand of the sealings as a separate hand, nor are the similarities to that of 611 enough to assert their identity. As is to be expected of inscriptions found in a different house, the hands represented in the House of Sphinxes are not to be identified with any of those found in the tablets from the House of the Oil Merchant. Accordingly the new hands from the House of Sphinxes are assigned the numbers 57 and 58.

The differences in the forms of the signs are most clearly shown in the table of forms. Beside the forms found in each of the eight hands which have been identified, there are shown in another column (M.) some distinctive forms of signs in inscriptions not assigned to hands, i.e., X 1 and X 508 with different provenances, Ue611 reverse, and Wt501–507, and in a final column (V.) forms of the painted inscriptions, which will deserve a separate study when a larger collection has been made. The signs from the Mycenae tablets have been traced from the photographs in order to show the shapes as accurately as possible, and to preserve the relative sizes of the signs in each hand. It should in most cases be possible to see the order of the strokes despite the loss of the third dimension. The differences seen by other criteria may now be summarized.

Hand no. 51 [Tablets Oe104&116, 106, 107, 110, 111&136, 118, 124]—average size 9 × 5.3 cm., well squared, ruled without a top rule into 3 lines (exceptionally 4 or 5); the two-line tablet rather rounded, and the one-line irregularly tapered—height of line 1.3–1.9 cm. (exceptionally as small as 0.6 cm.).

Hand no. 52 [Tablets Au102, Oe103&105, 112, 115&134, 119]—tablets with rounded corners, ruled with a top rule (twice into 3 lines)—height of line 0.9–1.4 cm. (exceptionally 2.0 cm.).

Hand no. 53 [Tablet Fo101]—fairly square corners, ruled with a top rule—height of line 0.7–1.1 cm.

Hand no. 54 [Tablets Oe108, 109, 113&114, 117, 126]—average size 9.5 × 5.1 cm., generally rounded shape, ruled with a top rule into 2 lines (twice) or 3 lines (once); the one-line tablet evenly tapered—height of line 1.2–1.9 cm.

Hand no. 55 [Tablets Oe120, 122, 123, 125, 127, 131]—average size 13 × 3.5 cm., one-line tablets, broad and irregular—height of signs 1.3–2.5 cm.

Hand no. 56 [Tablets Oe121, 128, 129, 130, 132]—average size 7 × 2.5 cm., one-line tablets, tapered, bulging, with a second line of text written above the first without ruling—height of signs 0.8–1.2 cm.

Hand no. 57 [Tablets Ge602, 605, 606, 608, Au609, Go610]—average size *ca.* 12 × 8–11 cm., *ca.* 6.5 × 9.5 cm., ruled with a top rule, and the lines are often ruled again, in the course of inscription, to separate the two registers of writing which occur even more often; the two taller than broad tablets happen to have seven lines each, the broad tablets each have at least six—average height of line 1 cm., but the registers of divided lines average 0.8 cm. Ge608 is a reused tablet, erased, and ruled in the other direction.

Hand no. 58 [Tablets Ge603, 604, Ue611 obv.]—average size *ca.* 14 × 8.5 cm., *ca.* 12 × 5.5(+) cm., ruled with or without a top rule into 5 and 7 lines; in two lines additional words are written above the first without ruling—average height of lines 1.3 cm. Ge603 is a reused tablet, erased, and ruled in the other direction.

The two scribes of the House of Sphinxes differ not only in the forms of the signs they use, but also in the spelling of some words, and in their indication of the commodities they both record in the Ge texts. Of course one does not differ so widely that his writing cannot be understood by the other. Hand 58 regularly abbreviates *KO⟨-ri-a_2-da-na⟩*, *KU⟨-mi-no⟩*, *MA⟨-ra-tu-wo⟩*, *SA⟨-sa-ma⟩*, and sometimes abbreviates *e-ru⟨-ta-ra⟩* and *E⟨-ne-me-na⟩*. This scribe also spells the name *Pu-ke(-o)*. Hand 57 spells these words out, except that *ka-na-ko* appears in a ligature of all the signs, beginning at the bottom, in 608, and that *KO⟨-ri-a_2-da-na⟩* appears before **134* CONDIMENT in 608, and in ligature with it in 606. The sign CONDIMENT is absent when *ko-ri-a_2-da-na* is spelled out. This scribe spells the name *Pu_2-ke*.

Hands
51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 M. V.
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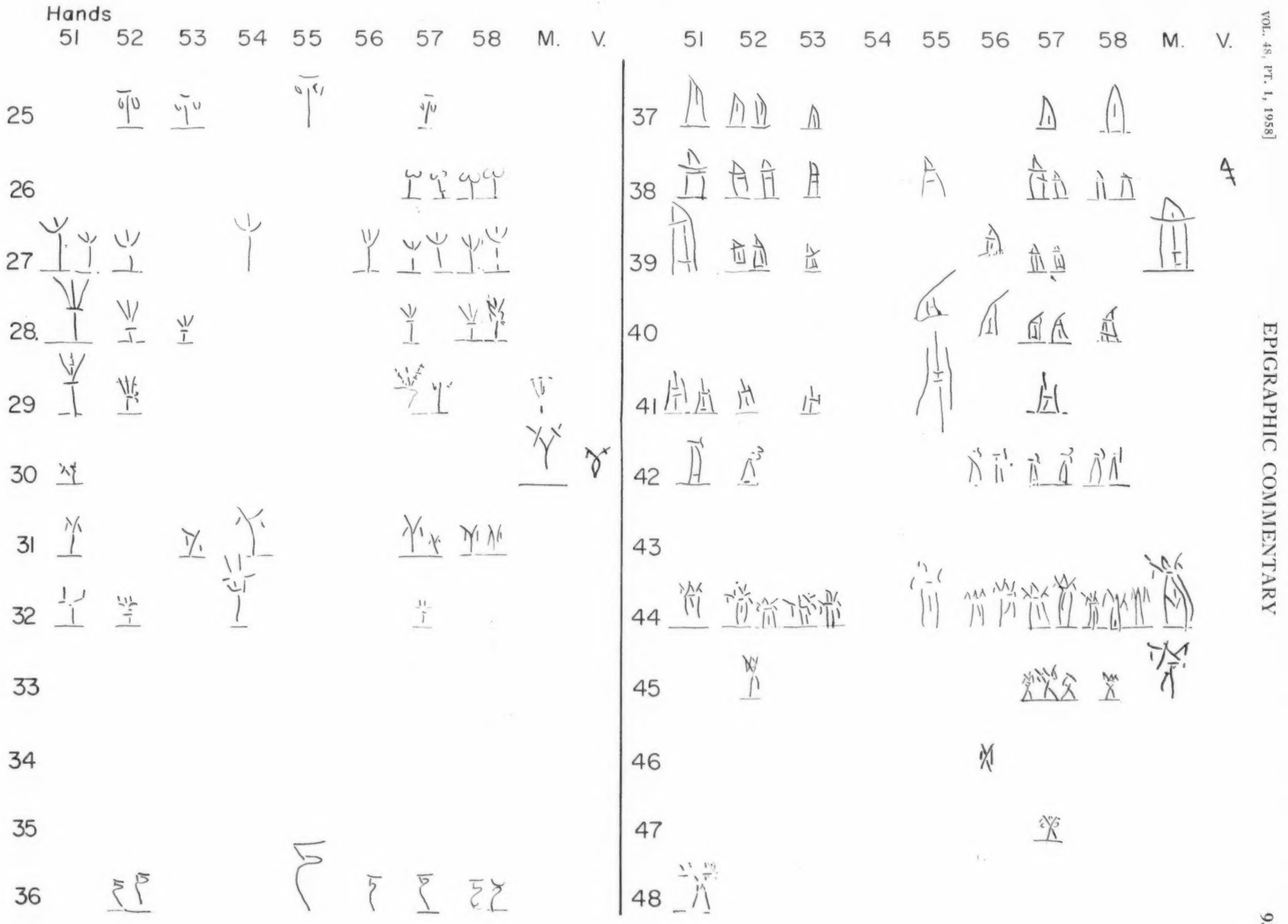
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24


Hands
51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 M. V.
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51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 M. V.
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Hands
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Hands
51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 M. V.
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88
Ideograms
51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 M. V.

3. THE IDEOGRAMS AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TABLETS FROM MYCENAE

In the two collections of inscriptions from the House of the Oil Merchant and the House of Sphinxes we have tablets dealing with various classes of accounts, distinguishable by the presence of different ideograms representing the various commodities accounted for. We cannot even now be quite certain of the meaning of all the ideograms involved, although as a convention certain identifications (which are rather as it were "transliterations") have been established for most of the ideograms. To know their exact meaning is obviously of some importance, for we may expect to know what business was transacted by the occupants of these buildings far more precisely through their records than we may through the debris of their furniture. And since the debris does provide some meagre clues to the businesses, as witness the name which the excavator was led to give to the first one, the "House of the Oil Merchant," we look to the tablets for confirmation and further specification. We shall find that the preserved records are probably not sufficient in themselves, but they will at least yield some evidence toward the study of Mycenaean economy. To know the exact meaning of the ideograms is also desirable simply as making more complete our knowledge of the Mycenaean writing system, a large part of which was specifically designed for just such accounts as these. Within the first small group of tablets from Mycenae there was some evidence which has already corrected our first specification of their values; in the following examination of the ideograms of all the Mycenae tablets it is hoped that some progress can be made toward a greater accuracy.

A. TEXTS FROM THE HOUSE OF THE OIL MERCHANT

The tablets from the House of the Oil Merchant fall into three classes; Au with the ideogram **100* MAN (one example), Fo with the ideogram **130* (OLIVE) OIL (one example), and Oe with the ideogram **145* WOOL. We have to consider whether these signs are properly identified, to what business they refer, whether of one or more kinds, and what sorts of transactions are recorded. In this we shall principally rely upon the analysis of the uses to which these ideograms are put in the bookkeeping, supplemented wherever possible by consideration of the texts of the headings and the items written phonetically, and of the archaeological context in which they were found.

Au102

The tablet Au102 adds nothing to our knowledge of the meaning of the sign **100* MAN, whose interpretation is hardly open to question. Although the form of the "head" is not the most frequently attested we may attach no importance to the variations in shape of this sign as it is seen here in Au102 and in Au609 from the House of Sphinxes. It is clearly no more than a graphic variation in the hands of the scribes. In Au102, except for the entries in lines 6 and 9, the number following the ideogram corresponds to the number of words, which are undoubtedly personal names, and which are joined by the connective *-qe* added to the second when they occur in pairs. The persons thus named are apparently counted by the ideograms and numbers. We should very much like to know why some are reported in pairs and others singly; there is nothing in the order of pairs and single names to tell us. How the words *ke-re-no* and *o-ri-ko* comprise two and three persons must be determined from the interpretation of these words, for which see the commentary of Chadwick. The loss of part of line 14 leaves it uncertain whether a total was recorded, although some have assumed that it was. Certainly if the *a-to-po-qo* were followed by a totalling of the tablet, its isolation from the other words would be explained most easily. The word *a-to-po-qo* does seem to designate a class of men, to which the men named might belong. The difficulty in lines 6 and 9 in which pairs or triads of men must either bear a single name, or be identified not by name, as is normal here, but by some other description, might be resolved by supposing that, e.g., *Wa-ra-pi-si-ro* and *I-jo* together *had* (or got or gave) two MEN (presumably then *a-to-po-qo?*) and that *Ke-re-no* (which is attested as a personal name PY Cn599.6) and *O-ri-ko*, who in this case could be single persons, each *had a-to-po-qo*, two and three respectively. The total of 17 MEN, whether or not *a-to-po-qo*, suggests no rational explanation of the account, although it must be noted that if this tablet be interpreted as an inventory of "bakers" (i.e., *a-to-po-qo*), the question immediately arises whether an inventory of as many as 17 such MEN can properly be attributed to a private establishment outside the citadel walls, or whether they must be given to an appendage of the palace within. If it is not an inventory, or if the 17 are not dependents of the House of the Oil Merchant, or if the MEN are not *a-to-po-qo*, or if *a-to-po-qo* are not "bakers" or the like, the question need not arise.

Fo101

The text of the tablet Fo101, the only one from Mycenae dealing with the securely identified ideogram for OIL, is very important since it has established the relationships of the series of liquid measures. The arguments advanced in *MT I* by which the earlier suggestions (Bennett, 1950: 211) were amended, although they were based upon restorations of damaged portions of this and another tablet (KN Fp1), have been generally accepted and need not be repeated here. It may be that the ideogram ought be transliterated as OIL&*WE* rather than as simple OIL.

It is not easy to say whether all the words before the ideograms and numbers are proper names or occupational or other descriptions of the persons or groups to whose accounts the quantities of OIL are assigned. The division of the whole account into three or four paragraphs may somehow help in determining the question. The scheme of the paragraphs may be slightly clearer in the following summary rearrangement, with the quantities reckoned in the smallest unit, and the words abbreviated:

a. 3: *Pa.* 1, | *Ma.* 1, *A.* 1, | *To.* 1, *We.* 1, | *Ke.* 1.
pi. 6: *Tu.* 1, | *Ko.* 1, *Na.* 1, | *Pe.* 1, *Pu.* 1, | *O.* 1.
e. 18.
a. 4.

It is peculiar that in each of the first two paragraphs there are six individual entries of 1 QT, following quantities of 3 and 6 QT. One might consider then the four words with the larger quantities together, *a-ne-a*$_2$, *pi-we-ri-si*, *e-ro-pa-ke-ta*, and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, which apparently include two plurals, *pi-we-ri-si* and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, and two for which occupational names have been suggested. There seems no objection to taking the other twelve words as personal names.

The division in paragraphs and the groups of six may reflect some social grouping among the recipients or suppliers of oil from or to the stores in the House of the Oil Merchant. In any case the division into paragraphs and the internal relations of the quantities in the paragraphs and of the totals of the four paragraphs cannot be without a significant relation either to the facts the scribe had to record, or to the scribal methods of bookkeeping. If, as is recorded by Ventris and Chadwick (1956: 59–60), the most common size of stirrup jar, suitable for oil, is *ca.* 12–14 l., i.e., the probable size of 1 LM, the quantities recorded could be packed as:

½ stirrup jar: ⅙, ⅙, ⅙, ⅙, ⅙, ⅙.
1 stirrup jar: ⅙, ⅙, ⅙, ⅙, ⅙, ⅙.
3 stirrup jars.
⅔ stirrup jar (or 1 small, or ½ large).

We should expect more tablets dealing with oil and the record of transactions involving far greater quantities if oil were in fact the principal business of the House, but we cannot argue with the chance of survival. That this single tablet was preserved might depend in the end on its having been discarded, as if it were waste paper or an out-of-date record, behind an oil jar in the storeroom. The quantities recorded range from 1 to 18 QT, which should approximate 2 to 36 liters (Ventris and Chadwick, 1956: 58–60), and the total is 43 QT, or 86 liters. The total quantity apparently could have been held in one of the pithoi in the storeroom with room to spare.

Oe tablets

The third group of tablets from the House of the Oil Merchant is that classified Oe, dealing with the commodity **145* WOOL, whose meaning and value remain quite uncertain despite the adoption of the conventional transcription of "WOOL." Although this sign occurs at Knossos, Mycenae, and Pylos, and in several kinds of context, and although it appears in apparently readable texts, it may reasonably be doubted that we have enough evidence to decide what it means.

The shape of the sign itself is not now of any use in determining its meaning. It is not to be confused with the "balance" or TALENT sign, which like WOOL appears with the most common sign for a unit of weight, the LB, and itself is clearly the largest unit of weight (Bennett, 1950: 212). It has been confused, more reasonably and apparently even by the Mycenaean scribes, with the simple sign *MA*, which is sometimes used ideographically, and sometimes as an abbreviation. *MA* is for example the abbreviation of *ma-ra-tu-wo* and is measured by volume in the Ge tablets of Mycenae. In the tablets KN F 953, 955, and 1633 (with which F 7493 is clearly identical), although WOOL is once written, and clearly, *MA* is more often written and is perhaps to be preferred. There is no indication whether *MA* (or WOOL) in these tablets is measured or counted. The upper element, by which WOOL is distinguished from *MA*, is often indistinctly drawn. In several of the Mycenae tablets, although WOOL seems certainly intended, there is no trace of it. The sign WOOL is in origin, at least, a ligature of two phonetic signs, *ma* and another, and although the lower element is unmistakable, the upper is frequently drawn so carelessly that it is now impossible to be sure which sign of the syllabary it was originally. The signs *ru*, *re*, *ro*, and *i* seem the most likely candidates. There appears to be no word in the vocabulary of the Mycenaean texts which the ligature might represent. Since, however, there is a ligature something like this in Linear A, Lc46 (Pugliese Carratelli, 1945: 473–482), which is used only as an ideogram, we might assume that the Mycenaean Linear B form developed out of this Linear A sign, just as the *ma* seems to be developed out of L95, and it might be that the ligature was taken over intact, and that the meaning of the sign-group can be understood only through the values of the component signs in Linear A, if they are not identical with those of the apparently corresponding signs in Linear B, and through the language of Linear A, if it is not Mycenaean Greek.

It was shown in the course of determining the relative sizes of the signs for weights and measures that the commodity represented as WOOL is one measured by weight. However, there are peculiarities in its use which have suggested that in some circumstances it

might be a commodity counted, and not measured. It would be well then to review the evidence for its metrical value before turning to the problem of its identification. Among the commodities measured by weight it holds a unique or almost unique place.

If we except the sign **146*, whose claims to be measured by weight are debatable, WOOL is the only one of them for which the ideogram indicates the unit of weight as well as the identity of the commodity. Thus in tablets such as the KN Dk tablets, where WOOL occurs as a second ideogram in texts primarily concerned with the animal ideograms, and where there is nothing in the words written to indicate the meaning of the sign WOOL, the sign must specify the *kind* of stuff which is being weighed, while the facts that it may or may not have numbers following, and may or may not be accompanied by the units of weight show that it also there indicates a certain *quantity* or weight of the stuff. Similarly in PY Un853, where WOOL appears without any word of identification in the midst of other ideograms, the kind of stuff must be clearly identified by the sign WOOL. The other ideograms used with measures of weight behave differently. The sign BRONZE, for example, by itself indicates no unit of measurement and is never followed directly by numbers, but either by a unit of measurement if it indicates BRONZE as a commodity to be accounted for, or by an ideogram representing an object made of BRONZE.

WOOL is also the only one of the commodities measured by weight which has as its largest unit a weight equal to 3 LB (i.e., approximately 3 kg., Ventris and Chadwick, 1956: 57–58). (The reading of KN O 7312, if correct, would seem to cast doubt on this determination of the value of WOOL, but it can be paralleled in other examples of recording excesses of lower units.) Other materials measured by weight either have their largest unit the TALENT of 30 LB (=30 kg.) or LB (=1 kg.) itself. At the same time WOOL rarely appears measured with very great accuracy. At Mycenae only multiples of the WOOL unit itself are recorded. At Pylos the smaller unit LB is found only once, Un853. At Knossos the normally occuring smaller measure is the LB, and its use in Dk1071 and Dk1073 shows that in the reckoning of the Dk tablets from which the relationship of LB to WOOL is determined, the need for accurate measurement does not extend below 1 LB (=1 kg.), for in those texts quantities of 1 and 2 LB are taken as the equivalents of half the WOOL measure (i.e., of 1½ LB), so that an error of ½ LB (=½ kg.) is permissible. There do appear, however, a few other instances in which a finer measurement is recorded. In Wb5527 the reading TALENT is highly doubtful and probably incorrect. In O 7433 the reading WOOL is marked as doubtful; if it is correct the lower unit OZ (=¼ kg.) will be attested, and the whole quantity recorded will be the simplest fraction of the unit of WOOL, i.e., one half WOOL or 1½ LB. In Od666 and 667 smaller units still are recorded, among which the occurrence of OZ need arouse no suspicions, but the small quantities noted as DR 6 (=⅛ kg.?) and DR 2 (=1/24 kg.?) in Od666 at once introduce a suggestive parallel ratio between the quantities of WOOL (9:3) and DR (6:2), and an unusual fineness of measurement. If Ventris and Chadwick are right in accepting the guess of 1/12 OZ as the value for **115* DR, then a difference of 1/24 kg. or *ca.* 40 g. is significant here, whereas in the Dk tablets a difference of ½ kg. or 500 g. was not. And if we could ignore them or explain these instances in Od666 and 667 away, we could show that WOOL is measured most often only with units the size of WOOL, that when it is subdivided it is normally divided only into thirds or LB, and that the smallest measure taken into account, the sixth part or OZ 2 (Od666.e, O 7433) is also twice ignored (Dk1071, 1073). Thus the occurrence of WOOL at Mycenae without any instance of a smaller measure need not lead us to suppose that it was not there, as it was at Knossos and Pylos, a unit of weight as well as a commodity.

The occurrence of WOOL in Od1062 without a following number, but with *PE* and high numbers, we may take to be an isolated instance, and unlikely to affect speculation about the meaning of WOOL. Words of text or other examples might have made the use clear. One would expect WOOL there to represent not a measure but a commodity only (identical with that of the weighed commodity WOOL?), which was measured by the unit *PE*. *PE* does appear as a unit in the tablets of the House of Sphinxes, and the meaning "bunch" has been suggested for it. If WOOL is really wool we might modify "bunch" to "bale," and 200 or 500 bales of wool are conceivable, as are bundles of fleeces.

The total quantity of WOOL accounted for in these tablets Oe from Mycenae cannot be exactly estimated, for the condition of the tablets is imperfect, and we cannot be sure that if we merely add up what we have we shall not add together the records of the same quantity received, inventoried, and dispensed, for the transactions of which we have the records are apparently not uniform. Nevertheless, the tabulation can be made, if nothing decisive is expected of it. We may record the frequencies of occurrence of quantities of various sizes, expressed both in the actual unit and in Ventris and Chadwick's estimate of absolute values, and we may show the total of these quantities. There is no point, however, to including the quantities from Oe111 (WOOL 100 and 200 plus) since they are obviously of a different scale, and themselves may very easily total some of the other items we have.

Occurrences	WOOL	Approximate Kilograms
6	1	3
7	2	6
2	3	9
5	4	12
1	5	15
1	8	24
1	9	27
3	10	30
2	12	36
1	15	45
2	20	60
1	100	300
1	200	600

Total, excluding the last two items: WOOL 177 = 561 kg.

The identification of the commodity WOOL as wool is based largely on its occurrence in the KN Dk and Dl tablets, which are certainly connected with animals, and very likely with sheep (although there are some who still maintain that they are cattle), and in the KN Lc and Le tablets, which are apparently concerned with cloths. The identification has been challenged by Sundwall, "Zur Buchfuehrung im Palast von Knossos," *Soc. Scient. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Litt.* **23**: 3, 1956, who would prefer to interpret it as a "Wertzeichen." Furthermore, the uncertainty of the identification is shown in Ventris and Chadwick's own treatment of the Oe tablets from Mycenae. They say (1956: 314) "On the Mainland WOOL only occurs with whole numbers; and on Mycenae Oe127 it is itself introduced by *pa-we-a*$_2$, suggesting that it has come to mean an indivisible unit of woolen material parallel to the CLOTH ideogram." But it is evident that they mean this indivisible unit to be a *piece* of cloth, presumably of standard size, or perhaps not even that. On p. 322 they translate *pa-we-a*$_2$ *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* WOOL 20 as "Twenty woollen cloaks. . . ." Thus WOOL is here taken by them as a piece of cloth or a garment. But it is most unlikely that this meaning can be accepted in all the Oe tablets.

We may begin with Oe111. This tablet consists of two sections: lines 1 and 2, lines 3 to 5. Each section comprises a heading: line 1 *pe-ru-si-nwa o-u-ka*, and line 3 *ne-*[*wa*] *o-u-ka*, each entry probably complete; and one or more items made up of text, ideogram, and number: line 2, and lines 4 and 5. The substantive word in the heading seems to be *o-u-ka*, modified by *pe-ru-si-nwa* for last year's and by *ne-*[*wa*] for this year's *o-u-ka*. The meaning of *o-u-ka* is naturally uncertain. Suggestions include (1) Ion. *οὔκη*, Att. *οὔπη*, Dor. *οὔπα*, Georgiev, *Second supplement au lexique des inscriptions créto-mycéniennes*, 1956; (2) *holka* "cardings," Palmer, 1955: 37; (3) plur. of *o-u-ko*, but meaning unknown, Ventris and Chadwick, 1956, *cf.* p. 402. If in Oe111 *o-u-ka* is a plural word, and in the heading, it may be supposed that the items which follow are more particular descriptions and accounts of some of the plural *o-u-ka*, and that WOOL 1 might represent one of those objects which it has been suggested are cloths. But what are we to do with the tablets Oe120 and 108 in which the name of the object has been reduced to the singular, *o-u-ko*, while the number after the ideogram remains at two or three? In these cases the ideogram and number cannot represent the number of the single object *o-u-ko*, so the ideogram WOOL cannot here represent a thing counted, but must still be a material (of which the *o-u-ko* may be made) and the units by which it is measured. That *o-u-ko* is indeed a single thing is made more likely by the presence in Oe108 of the word *sa-pa*, which by KN J 693 appears to be a garment (Ventris and Chadwick, 1956: 320, 321), or is listed among other garments. *sa-pa* could presumably be either singular or plural here, so that WOOL 4 neither helps nor hinders the argument.

To discover what an *o-u-ko* is is no easier than to define what are *o-u-ka*. But if the estimate of the meaning of the measure of WOOL is correct at 3 kg. and if an *o-u-ko* is a single piece of cloth, it must be of remarkable weight and size. If it were a simple blanket-like sheet of heavy quality, it ought to be no less than 6 by 22 feet at a guess, and weigh 9 kg., in Oe108. This surely seems unreasonable.

To suppose with Palmer that *o-u-ko* is *holko* "carding" would be to suppose it to be unfinished wool, not yet made into cloth. I suspect that the word "carding," as applied to a thing, a bundle or mass of wool which has just been carded, is no older than the carding machine which produces such a carding. Is there such a thing in the manufacture of wool by hand? But further, the *sa-pa* with which the *o-u-ko* is joined in Oe108 appears in KN J 693 as parallel to *ki-to* and *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* which are more easily understood as made-up pieces of wool, cloths, or garments.

The connections of the sign WOOL with textiles are indeed impossible to ignore and must be significant, despite the difficulty introduced by the presence of WOOL in PY Un219, in which one at first may think of WOOL as a spice, or as an ingredient in some repulsive unguent-boiling. A satisfactory solution of its meaning seems still remote, but we might ask these questions about it. Does WOOL always represent the same commodity? Does it always represent a measure of weight, and is its relation to the LB used with other ideograms correctly determined? Can it represent a commodity in raw state, in bulk, and at another time represent that commodity as the material of which an object named in the accounts is made? Is the commodity represented by WOOL actually wool, and if so, what state is meant if the sign is not qualified by a description; i.e., does it stand for fleeces, sheared wool, yarn, or cloth?

B. TEXTS FROM THE HOUSE OF SPHINXES

The activities carried on in the House of Sphinxes must, like those of the House of the Oil Merchant,

have been well varied, to judge by the variety observable in the few tablets of accounts preserved in it. There is, as in the Oil Merchant's house, one tablet listing men by their names. The tablet Au609 names and numbers men, with what is certainly a summation on the reverse. It is well worth noting that, whatever the normal business of the Houses of the Oil Merchant and of Sphinxes was, in both houses a simple list of men was an appropriate form of account, so much so that there was no need to indicate whether the men listed were commodities in the activity of the houses, or on the other hand either suppliers or customers. But that the men should be counted and summed up seems to favor their interpretation as commodities. In speaking of them as commodities it is of course not intended to imply that they figure necessarily in commercial transactions. Lists of labor forces or of military contingents might well have the same appearance.

There is beside the tablet listing men one which records quantities of a liquid material still unidentified, although it was represented in the Linear A inscriptions from Haghia Triada, as well as in the Linear B tablets from Knossos. There is one tablet which together with the sealings found in Room 1 suggests that part of the commerce of the house dealt in pottery. But the most extensive group of tablets would suggest that the distinctive commerce of the House of Sphinxes lay in herbs, spices, and condiments.

Ge and Go tablets

There seems to be nothing in the texts of the other tablets to tie them to the accounts of herbs, and although we have more of them than of any others, we hardly have enough to see whether there is a regular set of types of transactions, or a regular set of customers or suppliers. We do notice that in almost every transaction it is not a matter simply of one commodity, but of a more or less full selection of commodities, and, while we can be sure that that is not characteristic of retail trade, we are not well provided with other suggestions. It would probably be most helpful to discover some real relationships among the quantities of things appearing in the several transactions attributed to some of the names which are repeated in more than one tablet. But it is only in one instance that we can claim to have found such a relationship. It will be noticed that Ge603 and 604, written by the same hand and sharing almost the same order of subjects and commodities, are in fact parts of a single record, in which, as in many other records both at Knossos and at Pylos, quantities are reported both simply and with the qualifying *o*, or *o-pe-ro*, by which we may understand that the transaction is not complete, but that some portion of the quantity is missing or owing. On this occasion the completed parts of the transaction are reported on one tablet, the missing portions on another. Ordinarily, as in PY Ma222, the missing portion is written beside the completed portion. Of the quantities on Ge604 eight are of commodities normally present in the entries of 603, but absent in the corresponding entry, while for five others the quantity in 604 plus the corresponding quantity in 603 amounts generally to the most frequent quantity for that commodity. For example, in 603.2 and 604.5 the two quantities *MA* PT 2 added together make *MA* QT 1, which is found among all the Ge tablets a total of eight times. It would seem likely, since the hand of this scribe is found only in these two texts in Ge tablets, and since they are parts of a single set of transactions, that they were made on a different occasion from the rest.

The commodities which are the subject of the Ge and Go tablets and are apparently closely connected with the principal business of the House of Sphinxes may now be described. Some of them are indicated by ideograms, but an unusually large number are indicated by the word spelled out, or abbreviated. Since many of these have not occurred before in other Mycenaean inscriptions it may be well to gather as much evidence as we can for the meaning, not only of the ideograms, but also of the words.

There is a tendency in the tablets of this series for the commodities to be mentioned in a standard order, just as there is a tendency to put down the names to which the accounts are assigned in the same order, and for this one has only to compare 602 and 605, and 603 and 604. But since the orders are not invariable, the chance of finding a principle of arrangement behind these orders is remote. Yet in 606 we can notice that those commodities which are measured by dry measure come first, then come those measured by weight, and last those which remain for us enigmatic. We may suppose that this order was neither fixed nor accidental, and we shall consider the several commodities now in that order.

Commodities measured by dry measure

CONDIMENT. In Ge603, 606, and 608, the sign **123* CONDIMENT appears in a new function, one of those indicated by the name "Adjunct" in *MLB Index*. It was there assumed that **123* had the value of a measure, and unlike other signs for commodities (e.g., **120*) falling under the rubric BY DRY MEASURE indicated also a class of commodities, usually to be specified by the name of the commodity spelled out, as *ku-pa-ro*$_2$, *ko-ri-a*$_2$*-da-na*, or abbreviated and appearing as an adjunct, e.g., *KO*. On the other hand if it were not followed immediately by DM as in 603.1, it would have been possible to take **123* as simply the sign for the unit of the series of Dry Measures, which sometimes, like DM and LB, appears without specific ideographic identification of the material measured, either because it is identified in a heading, or is simply

to be understood in the context of the tablet or series of tablets in which it is found. Its shape, container-like (Evans called it a "granary sign"), would not be amiss if it did in fact represent only the largest measure in the series of dry volume, for which we might reserve the term BUSHEL (BU). In these new Mycenae tablets, however, it is the sign **123* which appears as an adjunct, and qualifies the sign *KO* which it follows, or with which it appears in ligature. The quantities of *KO* are so small in the texts that the unit represented in **123* is never reached, so that **123* appears without numbers. The fact that it appears in the first line of 603 and not in the following lines, which also have quantities of *KO*, seems to show that its function here is definitely to determine the value of *KO* either as a commodity measured by dry volume, or as one of the class identified in our transcription as CONDIMENTS. Further instances of the use of this sign would be valuable.

Ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na. This is ideographically abbreviated as *KO* (CONDIMENT). The standard quantity (DM 2) is found twelve times; the total recorded *ca.* DM 24 (i.e., *KO* (CONDIMENT) 2 DM 4). The same commodity is found in the accounts of both Knossos and Pylos, but in considerably larger quantities, and associated with different sets of ideograms. The abbreviation *KO* is found in all three places, but the full spellings are also found. The variation in spelling may reflect changes in the form of the name. At Knossos it appears as *ko-ri-ja-do-no*, and probably also as *ko-ri*]*-ja-do* and *ko-ri-ja*. At Mycenae it appears as *ko-ri-ja-da-na* and *ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na*, even on the same tablet. At Pylos only *ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na* is found.

Ku-mi-no. This is ideographically abbreviated as *KU*, and has an alternate spelling *ku-mi-na*. The quantities found are PT 2 once, and possibly three more times, QT 1 six times, QT 1 PT 2 once, QT 2 three times; total recorded *ca.* QT 15 (i.e., *KU* DM 2 QT 3). This is not found either at Knossos or at Pylos.

Ma-ra-tu-wo. This is ideographically abbreviated as *MA*. The quantities found are PT 1 perhaps twice, PT 2 twice, but these are parts of a single whole which would increase the number of QT 1 from probably eight to nine times; total recorded *ca.* QT 9 (i.e., *MA* DM 1 QT 3). This also is found neither at Knossos nor at Pylos.

Sa-sa-ma. This is ideographically abbreviated as *SA*. The quantities found are PT 2 *ca.* five times, QT 1 three times, QT 4 once; total recorded *ca.* QT 9 (i.e., *SA* DM 1 QT 3). The word is not found at Knossos or at Pylos, and the ideographic *SA* of the Na and Nc tablets is not likely to stand for *sa-sa-ma*, since they are either counted or weighed, and not measured by volume.

Ka-na-ko re-u-ka. The quantities found are PT 2 once, QT 1 three times, total recorded *ca.* QT 4. Unlike the red variety, *ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra*, the name is always spelled out in full. This, together with the certainly greater quantities recorded of the red, shows clearly that the white is of much less importance. Neither red nor white *ka-na-ko* is reported at Knossos or at Pylos.

Commodities measured by liquid measure

134.* The appearance of this sign at Mycenae in Go610 permits us now to specify it as a liquid. The newly discovered instance at Knossos (U 5592) does not. This might have been suspected from the appearance of the same sign in Linear A (L44) in two tablets from Haghia Triada either immediately before or after the sign (L82) which in Linear B (131*) is transcribed as WINE. But there is not yet any more precise identification.

Commodities measured by weight

Ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra. Since this may be distinguished from the *ka-na-ko re-u-ka* by the difference in the method of measurement, there is some variety in reference. Beside the full name, the simple *ka-na-ko*, or the simple *e-ru-ta-ra*, or the abbreviated *ka-na-ko e-ru*, or a ligature of KA&NA&KO, starting at the bottom, may be used before the LB sign. The quantities found are LB 1 *ca.* five times, LB 2 *ca.* twice, LB 2 DR 1 once, LB 3 *ca.* four times; total recorded *ca.* LB 27, or almost a TALENT. It is remarkable that in Ge605.4 the quantity seems to be so irregular. Every other quantity in these tablets fits into a regular sequence of quantities, e.g., *ku-mi-no* with PT 2, QT 1, QT 1 PT 2, QT 2. But here we have the sequence of 1, 2, 3 interrupted by what is possibly 2 and 1/24 or even perhaps 1/48. Yet the reading is certain.

Se-ri-no. One occurrence only in the quantity LB 2. This does not occur elsewhere.

Commodities not measured by volume or by weight

Sa-pi-de. This seems to be counted, and to come in multiples of 6 (6 twice, 12 once). It is found also at Pylos, with larger quantities, which are all, as far as our evidence goes, multiples of 20.

Mi-ta. This is measured by the unit *PE*. The spacing of the *PE* in Ge605.2 and in 606.6 seems to preclude the assumption that it simply qualifies *mi-ta*. The quantities recorded are *PE* 1 twice, and *PE* 2 twice. Neither *mi-ta* nor *PE* as a measure is found elsewhere, unless with WOOL in KN Od1062.

CUP. There may be some doubt about the correctness of the transliteration of the signs which are read as **110* PT and as **213* CUP. Each appears in these tablets with and without the marks of handles at one or both sides. When such a sign comes with **111* DM and **112* QT, or with the commodities normally measured by them, there is no doubt that it represents the smaller measure PT in the series of dry measures. But

when it appears, as it seems to appear, after **117* LB in the series of weights, there is reason to question its value, for nowhere else do we find this sign used in connection with the series of weights. The instances of its use after LB are in 603.2.6, both after *ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra*, and in 604.2 after *se-ri-no*. It would then have to be a measure smaller than LB. But it is followed by the number 1 in each of these three places, and it appears in other places alone, again with the number 1, as if by itself, and as if it were a commodity counted and not a part of a series of measures. Its regular position seems to be at the end of the series of commodities accounted for. In 603.1 it follows directly after]*ka-ra-to*, and it might easily be supposed that, just as in the same line CONDIMENT is added to specify what *KO* is to mean in the next lines, just as *e-ne-me-na* of line 2 specifies the meaning of *E* in the following lines, and just as *ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* specifies the meaning of *k. e-ru* and of simple *k.* LB in the following lines, so perhaps]*ka-ra-to* specifies the meaning of CUP in its other occurrences, and distinguishes it from the sign **110* which is practically identical in form. If so, it is tempting to interpret both the word and the sign as *kalathos*.

Ko-no, *DE*, and *E*(*-ne-me-na*). *Ko-no* appears also in an alternate spelling *ko-i-no*, and once by error the signs are reversed as *no-ko*. The word appears again at both Pylos and at Knossos, but at Pylos it is not the name of a commodity. At Knossos it probably is the same commodity, since there also it appears in connection with *KO*⟨*-ri-ja-do-no*⟩. But the evidence at our disposal is too little and ambiguous to tell even whether it is a material measured or counted. At Knossos where it is not immediately followed by a number it might be supposed that it is measured in units indicated by the following sign, which may be *MA* (or possibly WOOL). This *MA* cannot be *MA*⟨*-ra-tu-wo*⟩, because neither is it, as far as we can tell, measured by dry measure, nor is there anything to show that any of the abbreviations, not even *KO*⟨*-ri-ja-da-na*⟩, can be used ideographically without some additional indication of the units of measure used. At Mycenae also, *ko-no* appears three times without an immediately following numeral, but it also appears with the numbers 2, 10, and 12. Furthermore, the *DE* and the *E*(*-ne-me-na*) which accompany it can hardly be units of measurement, since they invariably take the numeral 1. It is worth noticing that the *ko-no* is everywhere accompanied by another sign, with only one, and that but an apparent, exception. In Ge604.3 *ko-no* 2 is written without any accompanying *DE* or *E*. But, as has been pointed out, Ge603 and 604 are the two parts of a single record, and the quantities attributed to the same name in both texts, when added together, form wholes. Thus the whole quantity of this commodity ascribed to *I-na-o* is *ko-no* 12 (of which 2 is *o-pe-ro*) *E* 1. This quantity, undivided, is what is ascribed also to the next name, *Ra-ke-da-no*. In Ge602.5 not only is the number absent after *ko-no*, but there is neither *E* nor *DE*. Instead the word *a-po-te-i*, whose ending is not too sure, is written. One would expect that a number should have been written too, but there is none. It is obvious from Ge603.3 that *E* is an abbreviation of the word *e-ne-me-na*, whose second sign is by no means certain. A similar word abbreviated by *DE* might be expected, but it is not to be found in the texts we have. It would be good to know whether in 606.7 the number 11 which follows a lacuna after the *DE* has anything to do with *ko-no*. That it is nearly the same as the 10's and 12's which mostly follow *ko-no* suggests that it does.

Ka-da-mi-ja. This occurs but once, and without any indication of the quantity written with it preserved. See the comments on the reading.

Ka-ra-ko. This also appears once certainly, possibly twice. The reading is not certain and no quantity is preserved.

]*da*. Ge605.2; there is nothing to indicate the meaning or context of this sign, except that it is followed by numbers.

Ue611 and the sealings (Wt)

The reverse of Ue611 is chiefly remarkable for the unique occurrence of its first sign, which may be an ideogram, but whose actual form and significance remain incomprehensible. I am indebted to Chadwick for the comparison of this sign to some of the forms in Linear A falling under the number L89 (in HT15, 56a, 123b). But it cannot be asserted that they are identical. One might also, supposing it to be a phonetic sign, compare it with the nearly unique **63*.

The obverse of Ue611 contains an account of numbers of pots of various sorts, with the shapes of the pots identified simply by the name of the shape, and without a drawn representation. That they are all pots follows from the occurrence of two of the words, *a-po-re-we* and *qe-to*, in other tablets at Knossos or Pylos followed by drawings of the shapes, and from the almost transparent reading of many of the words as suitable Greek words. But without the drawings we are unable to discover whether the Mycenaeans called the various shapes by the same names as the later Greeks, or to get any clue from the shape for those words with less obvious interpretations. Finally we can get nothing of importance from the numbers used with the various words, for an actual inventory such as this is need have no precise correspondence with the normal population of a pantry, or even of a potter's kiln or shop. It would be only the unlikely event of finding the group of pots of which this is an inventory that would permit comparing the numbers and the names.

With all the more interest then are we bound to observe the relationship between the names of the

pots on this tablet and the words which appear on the sealings, Wt501–507, found in the doorway of Room 1 of the same house. For some of these words are the same as the names of some of the pots. We shall not expect to learn more about the contents of Ue611, since the pots in Room 1 cannot be identified with the inventory in Ue611, nor can the sealings with any probability be supposed to seal the room and guarantee or identify its contents. But the presence of names of pots, one or two to each of the seven sealings, could raise the problems of the use and purpose of the sealings, and of the meaning of the writing on them. No satisfactory complete solution has been found, but what progress has been made can be reported.

The purposes to which sealings in general are put are few and simple. A sealing may guarantee the authorship or the acceptance of responsibility when it is attached to a document, and we may compare the stamping of coins as a guarantee of fineness or in modern times of nominal value, or less often, like the light printing of check paper, it may be intended to prevent alteration of what has been written without detection. A sealing may also, and this is perhaps its most frequent use, guarantee the integrity of the contents of a container, package, or a room or cupboard. It was the first impression of the excavators, from the position of the seven sealings in the doorway, that they had been used to seal the room's door, and that they had fallen in the fire, while the room was still sealed. But it seems extravagant to use seven sealings to secure one door, and the sealings themselves are made in such a way that they cannot easily have been used on a door fastening. It will be useful to see just how they were made, for we might from this see in what ways they can have been used.

Each of the seven sealings is formed of a lump of clay which was pressed about a string or cord, impressed with a seal, and inscribed. Usually such sealings are placed over knots, necessarily if intended as guarantees of the knots, and otherwise useful if the sealing is not to slip off of its own accord. After the lump of clay was placed over the knot it was given by the fingers a shape roughly lentoid and roughly triangular in section, and the marks of fingerprints are seen on all of them, sometimes very clearly, in the photographs. Then while it is held in the hand, the seal was pressed into one of the faces of the lump. The presence of fingerprints on the other faces, and the absence of the mark of any other object there shows that the knot cannot have been sealed while pressed against anything else. It follows that the string, or at least the knotted part of the string, was loose enough to be held in the hand at the time when the lump was attached and sealed and marked. It is possible then that the seal was held in the right hand and pressed into the lump held in the left hand, or equally that the seal was held in the left hand, face up, and the lump pressed onto it with the right. Which was actually done is probably of no importance, but since we can tell, it is worth recording the detailed process and its demonstration.

Now it is clear that the writing was done after the seal was impressed. This is seen in Wt506 and PY Wr01 (which is astonishingly identical in fabric) and KN W 1708, in which the last sign, for which there was no room left on the other surfaces, was inscribed over the face of the seal impression. It is also seen in the fact that the edges of the lines of the signs remain generally sharp and are not disturbed by the pressure necessary to press the lump and the seal together. It is worth noticing also that the fingerprints which cover the other surfaces do not cover the impression of the seal, so that unless the clay were much stiffer than it seems to have been that surface was not touched until the sealing had dried out. To write on one side of a lump of clay without touching the other is somewhat less difficult than to press a seal into one side without disturbing the fingerprints and the writing on the other, but it is still not easy. But it would be possible, as has been shown by experiment, to accomplish it in this way. Hold the seal, face up, in the palm, or, wearing it in the form of a ring, turn the bezel to the inside of the fingers of the left hand; press down the lump of clay while it is still rather formless onto the seal, and then pressing chiefly with the thumb and forefinger a triangular section will be produced, with the broadest surface the seal side, the next the part of the fingers, and the narrowest the part of the thumb. The fingerprints will appear on the lump without further prompting. Then the stylus is picked up in the right hand and used to mark the lump, which is still pressed down onto the seal. One may now remove the completed sealing, and if the sealed face is to be marked also, it is turned over, naturally on the axis of the string running through the sealing, and marked. Then the sealing may be permitted to dangle completed on its string.

The seal was undoubtedly the bezel of a ring, whether of bronze, gold, or stone. When such rings have on their bezels a pictorial scene such as this one had, it appears, and it is natural that it should be so, that the horizontal axis of the scene is parallel to the finger. Among the published Mycenaean rings those which show the ring itself are all so oriented. Such a ring, whether worn on the right hand or on the left, will be put on so that, with the elbow bent for writing or for drinking, the scene will be seen right side up by the wearer, whether it be seen on the back of the hand or on the palm. If then with the bezel turned on the palm-side of the left hand, showing right side up, a lump of clay be placed upon it and then inscribed, it will be obvious that the top of the scene will be nearest the top of the writing. That is, the scene and the writing will be both right side up if the completed sealing and inscription be rotated on the vertical axis of the scene and the writing. Few sealings produced

this way will have geometrically exact correspondence of the axes of the scene and writing, but there will at least be no instances of one being upside down to the other. Let us see whether these seven sealings fit the conditions. If they are all aligned on a vertical axis, such as that through the front of the neck and the front of the rearmost knee of the figure in the scene on the seal, and rotated on that axis, it will be seen that the writing in all but one slants down to the right, five at nearly the same small angle, one rather more sharply, while one slants slightly upward to the right. The angle between the extremes seems to be a bit less than 90°. By the experiment of putting marks on the base of his ring finger the reader may readily see that for him also the writing will ordinarily slant down slightly to the right from the axis of his finger, but that he can with no difficulty turn his hand so that the writing may slant a little upward to the right, or more sharply downward, but that he cannot without distortion write at right angles to the axis of his finger. The inscribed sealing from Pylos, Wr01, shows precisely the same angle between the axes of writing and scene as do the five normal sealings of the Mycenae group. And one of the sealings experimentally produced by this method exactly resembles MY Wt506 and PY Wr01 in the disposition and direction of the seal impression and of the writing, and even in the marks of the fingerprints on the inscribed faces, with the impression of the first joint of the index finger in exactly the same place. This correspondence between our experiment and the actual sealings seems enough to support a claim that the sealings were actually written in this manner, that is while the clay was still pressed on the seal in the hand, and that this was the normal or traditional way for Mycenaean scribes to make such sealings.

The particular relationship of the axes of obverse and reverse is not directly a matter of choice in any one sealing, but is determined chiefly by the space available for writing. This in turn is determined by the direction the string takes through the sealing. The sealing is made by pressing the lump onto the seal with the thumb and forefingers to make it roughly triangular in section, with the ridge formed between thumb and forefinger roughly parallel to the string, so that the string as it were runs through the axis of a triangular prism. The writing then will inevitably run roughly parallel to the string because the surfaces suitable for writing will be roughly rectangular with their length along the string. If we now look at the direction the string takes as the lump is being pressed onto the seal, we shall see that in Wt505 at the one extreme the string runs about from the base of the forefinger to the second joint of the little finger. At the other extreme in Wt504 the string runs from the base of the little finger to the first joint of the forefinger. In most sealings and in the Pylos example it runs from the heel of the thumb to the tip of the little finger. A little experiment will show that to place sealing lumps of clay on strings running in those directions is difficult unless the string be loose at the end from which the writing begins, and unless there be a few inches of slack from whatever the string be fastened to.

But if the sealing be attached to the *end* of a string, or to a knot at the end of a pair of strings, it cannot have been a perfect seal. However the string fastened the sealed container, either tied about it, or looped through holes in the two parts, the slack between it and the sealing could have been taken up to permit at least the partial opening of the container. If the primary purpose were sealing, the seal should have been placed on a knot as close as possible, and with as little slack as possible, to the sealed object. We should then be justified in saying that these sealings before us cannot have been intended primarily as seals to secure the integrity of the contents, and that it is more likely that their purpose may be found in the inscriptions on the backs, which will identify or label the contents, with the seal identifying the owner or packer, again serving as a label. Furthermore, if it is intended as a label, it need not be attached to the string fastening the container but may even have been made on a free loop of string prepared beforehand for attachment to a container.

The words, then, on the seven sealings will identify the contents of seven containers, or perhaps of seven cupboards. And despite the discovery of all of them in the doorway, this also makes it unlikely that it was the door of the room which was sealed and labelled with seven different labels, in which one word would have been needlessly repeated. There should then have been seven containers with pots, for we can assume that all the names are names of pots, some certain, the rest probable. But no trace of the pots remains with the label-sealings.

We might suppose then one of two or three possibilities. First, that these were labels prepared for containers not yet filled, and kept together in a bunch until they were ready to be attached. Second, that these were labels which had been attached to filled and closed containers, closed in such a way that the contents could not have been seen to be identified. To explain the absence of the contents of the containers and the grouping of the sealings we might suppose that the containers had been opened and the contents removed without breaking the sealings, which may have been cut off, if their strings were parts of the fastening, or may have been left on the empty containers which might have been stacked together like baskets. If the sealings were cut off they may have been discarded, soon to be broken up under the traffic of cupboard-seeking feet. In this case the destruction of the House of Sphinxes must have occurred very shortly after the opening of the containers of pots. Otherwise, they may have been kept together

as if they were invoices to be recorded elsewhere. The form of such a record would be normal, deriving the names of the pots from the graffiti of the sealings, the name of the supplier from the identity of the seal. A third possibility, which it is claimed is overly anachronistic and ingenious, is that these sealings were the labels attached to probably wooden keys to probably wooden locks. Wooden locks with unique keys are quite possible. But if these were keys to locks, labelled, and perhaps hung up on pegs in the doorpost, the pots must have been of the greatest value and of precious metal to justify being locked up in individual cupboards. It is the second possibility which seems most reasonable.

By any of these suggestions it is not likely that pots are simply stored on shelves or in cupboards in a room, while the labels are elsewhere, for they will easily and normally be stored where they can be seen and identified without labels. It is more likely that they are put in containers, baskets, or boxes and packed for transport, so that they may be thought of as objects of commerce, either sent from or received by this house, which deals in spices and in pottery, and may have been even less specialized. Beyond this we cannot now go.

4. THE VASE INSCRIPTIONS

The script of the vase inscriptions is clearly Mycenaean Linear B. It differs only inasmuch as the different techniques of incising in clay and painting on a pot permit more or less freedom of line. No sign whose form is clear on the Mycenae vases is unexampled in the stylus-written texts. The texts on the vases are incomplete, or abbreviated; they are not accounts, and naturally do not include ideograms.

E. L. B.

TRANSLATIONS AND LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

This complete edition of the Mycenae tablets presents an opportunity of publishing translations (as far as possible) and a commentary on all the known texts. Interpretations of those found in 1952 and previously published have been printed by G. Pugliese Carratelli (1954), P. Meriggi (1955), L. R. Palmer (1955), and others. The following translations and notes are based not only on these articles, but also on a joint study and selective edition of Mycenaean texts prepared in partnership with Dr. M. Ventris which has now been published (Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge University Press, 1956).

In the translations *italic* type indicates doubtful words. In the notes Mycenaean reconstructed forms are printed in the Roman alphabet, the Greek alphabet being used only for those words found in alphabetic script. The absolute values for the metrical signs have been discussed at length in chapter 2 of *Documents*, and the following very approximate values are used here as equivalents:

**110* PT	Volume	0.5 liter
**111* QT	Volume	2 liters
**112* DM	Dry	12 liters
**113* LM	Liquid	
**120* etc.	Unit of dry measure	120 liters
**130* etc.	Unit of liquid measure	36 liters
**115* DR	Weight	20.8 grams
**117* LB	Weight	1 kilogram

Bennett's classification enables the tablets to be grouped by subject matter into six sections: personnel (Au); oil (Fo); spices (Ge, also Go); wool (Oe); miscellaneous (Ue, Wt); fragmentary and vases (X, Z).

1. PERSONNEL

Au102

This is a list of men, recorded by name, followed after a gap by the entry *artopoq*^{w}*oi* "bakers." The lacuna following this word may have contained the summation MAN 17. It has been argued that seventeen bakers is an excessive number for any establishment short of a royal palace; we must therefore envisage the possibility that these houses, though outside the walls of the citadel, are appendages of the palace. But the restoration is far from certain, and the last entry may be unrelated to the earlier ones. Some of the names are recognisable as Greek (*Iōn?*, *Khariseus*, *Engenēs?*, *Euporos* or *Euphoros*). Others are attested at Pylos or Knossos: *Wa-ra-pi-si-ro* can be restored in PY Cn436.7; *Te-ra-wo-ne* (dat.) PY Fn1192.2, possibly *Telāwōn* = Τελέων; *Ka-ri-se-u* KN As1516.9, As5866.1, PY Jn431.22; *Ke-re-no* PY Cn599.6 (dat.), possibly *Gerēnos* (*cf.* Γερήνιος); *Wa-a*$_2$*-ta* recalls the place name *Wa-a*$_2$*-te-pi* PY Na1009, ethnic *Wa-a*$_2$*-te-we* PY An207.7; *De-u-ki-jo* recalls *De-u-ka-ri-jo* = *Deukaliōn* PY An654.12 or the month name (?) *De-u-ki-jo-jo* KN Fp1.1; *Mo-i-da* may be equated with *Mo-da* PY Jn601.5, KN V 7525.

There remain the difficulties created by the reading MAN 2 after the single name *Ke-re-no* in line 6, perhaps a simple error, and the entry *o-ri-ko* MAN 3 in line 9. For the latter a name, *Oligōn* or the like, is conceivable; or it may be an occupational term, though Meriggi's *orikoi* "muleteers" will hardly do if οὐρεύς is derived from ὄρος (*hόρ$_F$ος* perhaps dissimilated from **$_F$όρ$_F$ος* which may be represented by Myc. *wo-wo*). The interpretation *oligoi* does not give satisfactory sense, unless we can accept the suggestion of Hampe (*Gymnasion* **63**: 40, 1956) that it means "individuals," i.e., "others."

Au609

Another list of men's names; the lacunae cannot be safely restored. In line 2 Bennett suggests *Pe-ri-ke-*[*re-we* = *Periklewēs*. Lines 1–2 of the reverse possibly contain an introductory formula, but the words are unintelligible.

2. OIL

Fo101

The identification of the ideogram (lines 9 and 15) as OIL is now beyond doubt; see *Documents* chapter 7. This tablet (found in Room 1 with the oil-jars) is shown by the total (line 15) to be a record of quantities of OIL, although the commodity is not expressed in front of the fractional quantities. That it is a record of distribution appears from the datives recognizable in *Pa-na-ki*, *O-ta-ki* with the characteristic Mycenae dative of consonant stems in *-i*, and the plurals *pi-we-ri-si*, *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*. The total amounts to 86 liters.

The recipients are recorded partly by name, partly by profession, since *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* is the name of a common occupation of women. Palmer's attempt (1955: 37) to limit the possible interpretations of this word by reference to the predominance of WOOL in other tablets from this house is unjustified, since there is nothing to prove that the recipients of oil are exclusively wool-workers. It should be observed that the WOOL tablets themselves are not exclusively concerned with the allocation of wool for working, since the persons mentioned include a baker (Oe117), a smith (Oe121), and a potter (Oe125). The *pi-we-ri-si*, cf. *pi-we-ri-di* dat. sing. Oe103.7, are connected by Meriggi and Palmer with πῖαρ "grease"; the word is however exactly equivalent to the feminine ethnic Πιερίδες, and it is even not impossible that it represents an offering to the Muses. *Cf.* the man's name *Pi-we-ri-ja-ta* PY Jn389.3. The other entries appear to be

personal names: *A-ne-a_2* may represent *Aineāi*, though the use of *a* for initial *ai-* is unusual; *Pa-na-ki* is possibly from Φαίναξ; *Ma-no* may be *Mānōi* (Μῆνος); *A-na-*88* recalls the man's name *A-na-ro* KN Dl928—is **88* here too a variant of **33* = *rai?*; *We-i-we-sa* resembles the feminine adjectives in *-wessa; Ke-ra-so* may be *Kerasōi; Ko-ma-ta*, is probably *Komātāi; Pe-ta-*[can perhaps be restored *Pe-ta-ro*, *cf.* PY Jn310.9, *Petalōi; E-ro-pa-ke-ta* is plainly connected with *e-ro-pa-ke-u* KN As0493.2, fem. *e-ro-pa-ke-ja* KN L 595.1, but it is not clear whether these are names or vocabulary words; possibly *elophāgetāi* (ἔλαφος) 'rounder up of deer.'

3. SPICES

Ge602–608 form part of a consistent series dealing with a range of commodities, most of which can be identified as herbs and spices. Some tablets have an introductory phrase, but apart from this the text consists entirely of a list of personal names, each followed by specified quantities of the various commodities. Ge606 is slightly different in form, but deals with the same commodities. The names in the lists vary between nominative and dative, even on the same tablet: *Pe-ke-u* Ge602.3, but *Ka-e-se-we* Ge602.4, *cf. Ka-e-se-u* Ge605.4. It is impossible to regard these entries as distinguished as out-goings whereas the rest are receipts, since the script does not allow this distinction to be observed in the *a-* and *o*-stem declensions. As in other cases, the nature of the transaction was so obvious to the scribe that he had no need to mention it.

The purpose of the records is therefore conjectural; but if the House of Sphinxes is in fact a private house, they may be a merchant's records of his business dealings. Since the amounts associated with each name are comparatively small and are not totalled, they may represent sales of these commodities; and in some cases the wording suggests that they are amounts "owing," perhaps outstanding against future payment. In the absence of any form of currency the debt can only be recorded in terms of the actual commodities sold.

Lists of spices in a rather different context, referring to the produce of certain places, are quoted by Lacheman (R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*: appendix D, 535, Harvard, 1939). Among the spices mentioned both there and at Mycenae are coriander, fennel, and *kamūnu*, which Lacheman, following Bezold, translates as "caraway." Since the principal commodities recur frequently it will be convenient to discuss them before dealing with the tablets individually.

ka-da-mi-ja: apparently *kardamia*, a feminine or neuter plural form for κάρδαμον "garden-cress, *Lepidium sativum*," the pungent seed of which was much used as a condiment, especially in Persia (Xen. *Cyr.* i.2.8, Aelian, *Var. hist.* iii.39). The alternative reading *ka-da-mi-ta* suggests καλάμινθα, a kind of mint, if we accept the representation of λ by *d* in pre-Greek words (*cf.* Palmer, 1955: 42).

ka-na-ko: this occurs alone and in the monogram KA&NA&KO. More often however it is qualified by an adjective: *e-ru-ta-ra* = *eruthrā* "red"; or *re-u-ka* = *leukā* "white"; *eruthrā* may even stand by itself. The "white" variety is measured; the "red" is weighed (weights from 1 to 3 kg.). This is clearly the plant known as κνῆκος (original long ā is attested by the Doric adjective κνακός), the gender of which varies between masculine and feminine. The identification of the plant has been contested, but is generally supposed to be safflower, *Carthamus tinctorius*, the florets of which are used to make a red dye. The oil is also used medicinally and for culinary purposes. Dioscorides (iv.88) says that the flower of κνῆκος is used as a relish (εἰς τὰ προσοψήματα). The distinction of "red" and "white" seems to be confirmed by the varying senses of the adjective recorded by Hesychius: κνηκόν· τὸ κροκίζον χρῶμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθους· ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ καρποῦ, τὸ λευκόν. It serves here to distinguish the red florets from the pale seeds. It should be observed that the word has an IE etymology and was originally an adjective of color.

ka-ra-ko: probably the Boeotian γλάχων (or γλαχώ) = Attic βλήχων, Ionic γλήχων, "pennyroyal, *Mentha pulegium*." It was used as a condiment in cooking: *cf.* κυκεὼν βληχωνίας Ar. *Pax* 712.

ko-no or once *ko-i-no*: this is counted (numbers from 2 to 12) and is qualified by *a-po-te-i*, *e-ne-me-na* (abbreviated to *E*), and *DE* (= *desmā* "bundle"?). The reading and interpretation of the first two words is uncertain. The variation of spelling *ko-no/ko-i-no* can be paralleled in other words: e.g., *ko-to-na* PY = *ko-to-i-na* KN. *ko-no* recurs on one tablet from Knossos (F 953), where it prefaces the abbreviation *MA*, which on the evidence of these texts from Mycenae is fennel. Its use as a separate item may, therefore, imply a different identification. It is probably to be equated with σχοῖνος (which is sometimes feminine), but which of the plants so designated is meant is not clear; possibly "ginger-grass, *Cymbopogon schoenanthus*," a fragrant plant used in the manufacture of perfumes and later imported into Greece from Syria for this purpose (Theoph. *H. P.* ix.7.3).

ko-ri-ja-da-na, ko-ri-a_2-da-na: abbreviated *KO*, sometimes inserted in the CONDIMENT ideogram. It is measured (the usual amount 24 liters). This word was already known from the Knossos and Pylos tablets in the forms *ko-ri-ja-do-no* and *ko-ri-a_2-da-na*. It is an ancestral form of κορίαννον, κορίανδρον which may be derived from *koria(n)dnon* by assimilation and popular etymology. The fruits of the coriander, *Coriandrum sativum*, are widely used as a condiment. The ancients seem to have obtained it from Egypt, though it was originally imported into Egypt from India.

ku-mi-no, ku-mi-na: abbreviated *KU*. It is measured (amounts from 1.5 to 4 liters). κύμινον, "cumin,

Cuminum cyminum." The word is Semitic, although Akkadian *kamūnu* is alleged to mean "caraway." According to Dioscorides (iii.59) it was imported from Egypt and Ethiopia, but also grown in Galatia and Cilicia. An oriental provenance is at least likely. It is widely used in cooking.

ma-ra-tu-wo: abbreviated *MA*. It is measured (amounts from 0.5 to 2 liters). *Marathwon* "fennel" is to be equated with the classical forms μάραθον or μάραθρον. The former is usually explained as derived by dissimilation from the latter; we may, however, suspect in the latter the influence of the suffix *-θρον*. The measured quantities clearly refer to the seed, which is used in cooking. The plant is widespread in distribution, so that this is more likely a local product than an import.

mi-ta: possibly abbreviated *MI*; counted with *PE* (numbers 1 and 2; also perhaps combined with another commodity with the numeral 20). The plant is obviously μίνθα, μίνθη, some sort of mint, a common and widely distributed plant.

sa-pi-de: counted (numbers 6, 12). The identification is very uncertain. The word recurs at Pylos (Vn19), where numbers of these are mentioned in connection with the nine towns. Many of the figures are lost, those readable being 200+, 80+, 60, and 40. Possibly *sarpides* "boxes"; *cf.* σαρπίς = σαρπός An. Ox. 2.466, and σάρπους· κιβωτούς Hesych.

sa-sa-ma: abbreviated *SA*; measured (amounts 1 to 4 liters). Equivalent to σησάμη or σήσαμα "sesame seed." The word is Semitic, the Ugaritic form (*šš̄mn*) being nearest to the Greek. The oil resembles olive oil, but the small quantities of seeds can hardly have been intended for pressing, and the seeds themselves are eaten. It was grown in antiquity in Mesopotamia, but is said not to have been introduced into Egypt before the first millennium B.C.

se-ri-no: weighed (in amount of 2 kg.). σέλινον, "celery, *Apium graveolens*." The seed is clearly intended.

CUP: the sign so transcribed varies considerably in form, often resembling the metric sign **110* PT. From its usage it would appear to be a separate item, possibly some kind of container.

Ge602

How —— owed *to Psellos:*

Pu$_2$-ke	fennel seed	0.5	l.
Phegeus	cumin	*x*	l.
	fennel seed	2	l.
	sesame	1	l.
	boxes	6	
For Ka-e-se-u	red safflower	*x*	kg.
	sesame	2	l.
	fennel seed	2	l.
	boxes	6	
Ke-po	red safflower	*x*	kg.
	——	2	l.
	mint	2	*PE*
	rushes ——		
——	——	1	l.
	——	0.5	l.
		1	*bundle*
	cup	1	

1 *jo o-po-ro:* the initial syllable, here spaced out, is a prefix as in *jo-do-so-si* PY Jn829.1 and equivalent to the more common *o-*, e.g., *o-o-pe-ro-si* PY Nn228.1. The meaning required would seem to be "how, thus," as it always precedes a detailed enumeration. Since the examples where a vowel follows exclude the possibility of ὥς, it seems likely that we have here the old instrumental of the demonstrative stem ὥ, quoted as Laconian by the grammarians and found in Attic in ὥ-δε, in Alcman in ὥ-τ'. The Cretan *hō* is ablatival (= ὅθεν), which is a possible sense in a few cases, but will not do here. Initial *j-* is abnormal; although it might here represent the original semi-vowel of this stem, it could also be explained as an attempt to represent the aspirate. The word following this prefix is usually a verb, and this will here be *ophlon* (= ὤφλον, originally aorist to ὀφείλω). As the list details persons in the nominative (except for one case), the form is presumably 3rd pers. plur.

a-ro-[: Palmer's suggestion *arōmata* "spices" is attractive for the sense; but the shape of the break precludes *ma* following *ro*, and it does not lead to any easy restoration of the following word which is presumably the subject of the verb.

pe-se-ro: = *Psellōi? Cf.* Ge605.1 and (gen.) *Pe-se-ro-jo* KN Ai63. There is no example of Ψελλός as a name recorded until late, but the adjective is at least as early as Aeschylus. The syntax is obscure, and we are hardly justified in assuming that we have here the name of the merchant.

5 *Ke-po:* if, as suggested by Bennett, this name forms its dative *Ke-e-pe* (Ge604.1), it cannot be reconciled with any Greek declension. Even if we assume *Ke-e-pe* to be a miswriting of *Ke-pe-e* the only analogy for the declension is the neuter stems in −ος.

Ge603

Ke-po:	coriander	24	l.
	white safflower	2	l.
	——	20	
	red safflower	1	kg.
	——?—— *basket*		
	cup	1	

Pu-ke-o:	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	4 l.
	fennel seed	1 l.
	sesame	1 l.
	(red) safflower	1 kg.
	rushes	10 *e-ne-me-na* 1
	cup	1
Inaon:	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	2 l.
	⟦*mint*	20⟧
	rushes	10 *E* 1
	red safflower	1 kg.
Ra-ke-danor:	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	4 l.
	rushes	12 *E* 1
	cup	1
A-ke-re-wi-jo:	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	2 l.
	fennel seed	2 l.
	rushes	10, 1 *bundle*
	cup	1
Phegeus:	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	3 l.
	fennel seed	2 l.
	rushes	10 *E* 1
	(red) safflower	2 kg.
	cup	1
Purwos:	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	4 l.
	fennel seed	2(?) l.
	rushes	1 *bundle*
	cup	1

1 *da-ra*[. .]-*ta-qe:* if Bennett is right in suggesting that the second missing sign could be *mi*, this will read *mintha* $q^{w}e$. The first word should then be a condiment too, perhaps *da-ra-pa*$_2$ = *drabā* δράβη "Arabian mustard, *Cardaria* (or *Lepidium*) *Draba*," the seed of which was used in place of pepper (Diosc. ii 157). It is, however, difficult to account for the numeral 20 with no metric sign.

]*ka-ra-to:* if the word is complete as it stands it might be *kalathos* "basket." The obscure CUP ideogram in some instances resembles a basket (e.g., Ge602.6).

4 *Ra-ke-da-no:* nominative to *Ra-ke-da-no-re* Ge604.3. This is evidently one of the class of names in -ᾱνωρ, but the first member of the compound is not identified.

5 *A-ke-re-wi-jo:* this recalls the Pylos place name *A-ke-re-wa*. The use of ethnic adjectives as personal names occurs elsewhere on the tablets, e.g., *Tu-ri-si-jo-jo* (gen.) *Tulisioio* PY Sa758. This seems more likely than that *a-ke-re-wi-jo* is the equivalent of ἀχρεῖος.

7 *Pu-wo:* known as a man's name at Knossos (C 912, As1516.10), = *Purwos* (*cf.* Corinth. Πύρϝος = Πύρρος).

Ge604

For *Ke-po*(?), deficiency	red safflower	*x*
	——	1 *bundle*
	cumin	2 l.
For Inaon, deficiency	cumin	2 l.
	sesame	2 l.
	rushes	2
	celery seed	2 kg.
	cup	1
For *Ra-ke-danor*, deficiency	red (safflower)	1 kg.
	fennel seed	2 l.
	sesame	2 l.
For *A-ke-re-wi-jo*, deficiency	red (safflower)	3 kg.
For *Pu-ke*(−*o*?), deficiency	(red) safflower	1 kg.
	fennel seed	1 l.
	sesame	1 l.
	garden cress	*x*

The names are here apparently all in the dative, but *Ke-e-pe* is a curious dative to *Ke-po* (see Ge602.5 note). In line 5 the scribe seems to have made a series of blunders, for he probably meant to write *Pu-ke-o o-pe-ro*. I am unable to agree with Bennett's identification of *Pu-ke* here with *Pu*$_2$*-ke*; for this tablet repeats, with two exceptions, the names of Ge603, where *Pu-ke-o* (line 2) must by the analogy of all the other names be nominative, not the genitive of a stem in -ηϛ.

Ge605

Psellos:	——	
	(red) safflower	2 kg.
	pennyroyal	*x*
Pu$_2$*-ke:*	red safflower	3 kg.
	white safflower	2 l.
	fennel seed	*x*
	mint	1 PE
	boxes	*x*
	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	2 l.
	sesame	*x*
	——	14(?)
Phegeus:	red safflower	*x*
	white safflower	1 l.
	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	*x* l.
Ka-e-seus:	red safflower	2021 g.
	white safflower	*x*
	coriander	24 l.
	cumin	*x* l.
Ke-po:	coriander	24 l.
	cup	1

Inaon:	cumin	1 l.
	white safflower	*x*
	pennyroyal	*x*
	sesame	1 l.
	mint	1 *PE*
	boxes	12

4 The value of the ideographic sign **115* DR is probably 1/1440 of a TALENT, i.e., about 20.8 g.; see *Documents*, chapter 2.

Ge606

Contributions from A-ke-re-u:

coriander	24 l.
cumin	2 l.
white safflower	2 l.
fennel seed	2 l.
sesame	8 l.
red (safflower)	3 kg.
mint	2 *PE*
rushes	1 *bundle*
——	11

1 *do-si-mi-ja: cf. do-so-mo = dosmos* "contribution" PY Es644.1, etc., Arcad. ἀπυδόσμιος "saleable."
2 *A-ke-re-u-te: Agreuthen* or the like?

Ge608 (Too fragmentary for translation)

Go610

The four names are apparently dative, since *Pu-i-re-wi* will be from a name in *-eus*; *A-ko-ro-ta cf.* Oe115.3; *Ka-sa-to = Xanthōi* recurs on Oe113.2 and PY An39.6, Jn320.5. There is no clue to the identity of the liquid expressed by the ideogram **134*, which recurs on KN C 7063 associated with sheep; not MILK?

4. WOOL

These tablets are too short and fragmentary for translation. Some of the personal names seem to be feminine, but the presence of masculine occupational terms such as "baker," "smith," "potter" shows that the lists are not restricted to textile workers. The purpose of the records is again not clear, nor are the few descriptive words which appear (*o-u-ka*, *sa-pa*, perhaps *qo-zo*). At Knossos the WOOL unit is subdivided into 3 LB, thus suggesting it is equivalent to about 3 kg. The large numbers on Oe111 are exceptional.

Oe103

6 *Ku-so:* man's name PY Ep301.10, Eb893.
7 *pi-we-ri-di:* see on Fo101.5.

Oe106

1 *ko-ro-to: cf. ko-ro-ta*$_2$ KN L 587.2, L 598.2, L 599. = *khrōston* "dyed" or *klōston* "spun"?
2 *tu-ka-te-re:* probably dat. sing. *thugaterei* "for the daughter of O."

Oe107

te-pa-i: dat. plur. *Thēbā'i, cf. te-pa*$_2$*-de = Thēbansde* X 508; or fem name *Thēbāis, cf. te-pa*$_2$*-ja = Thēbaiā* KN Ap5864.4, PY Ep539.6.

Oe108

1 *sa-pa: cf.* KN J 693.2; apparently the name of a textile.
o-no: a puzzling word, elsewhere in unhelpful contexts, except for KN Ca895.2, where it is clearly *onoi* "asses." This is probably a different word, though Palmer (1954: 22) proposes *onos* in the sense of "mill-stone" in PY Un443.1. Furumark's *ōnos* "price" encounters the difficulty of the initial digamma; there is no evidence yet that Mycenaean like certain historical dialects tended to drop *w* before *o*, and not a little to the contrary.
2 *o-u-ko: cf.* Oe120, *o-u-ka* Oe111.1.3. Palmer (1955: 37) proposes *holkon, -a* "cardings," with velar *l* written *u*, as in Cretan. It must be observed that no Mycenaean parallel has yet been quoted in support of this spelling, and χαλκός and its derivatives are regularly spelt *ka-k-*, despite Cretan καυχός.

Oe110

1 *ta-ra-si-ja: talasiā,* "the amount (of wool) weighed out to workers," Lat. *pensum.*

Oe111

1 *pe-ru-si-nwa: perusinwa* "last year's."
2 *wo-ro-ne-ja:* Palmer (1955: 36) suggests *worneia* "lambs' fleeces"; Ventris *wloneia* "woollen."
pa-we-si-jo: previously read as *pa-we-si* dat. plur. *pharwessi* "for cloths." An adjective *pharwesios* is possible but involves difficulties of concord.
3 *ne-*[*wa*] *o-u-ka:* Palmer, *l.c.*
5]*o-ta pa-ro te-wa-ro*: probably to be so divided, the first word perhaps neut. plur. of a particle (*eonta?*). *te-wa-ro* will then be a man's name, which Palmer reads as *Thewalos*; but his equation of this with *te-wa-jo* PY Fn324.1 rests upon a dubious hypothesis.

Oe115

2 *A-pi-do-ra:* also Oe124; woman's name *Amphidōrā; cf. A-pi-do-ro* KN X 146.2, Ἀμφίδωρος Thuc. iv.119.
3 *A-ko-ro-ta:* apparently a name, not the negative of *ko-ro-to; cf.* Go610.2.

Oe117

cf. Au102.14.

Oe118

to-so-ne qo-zo: Palmer (1955: 41) *tosoi-ne pokoi* "so many fleeces." But final *-ne* (for *-νι*, *-νν*) is odd, and so is the spelling of *pokoi*.

Oe119

Fo101.10 and Oe129 suggest possible restorations.

Oe121

2 *ka-ke-wi:* dat. *khalkēwi* "for the smith."

pa-se-ri-jo ko-wo: probably "for the son of Pa-se-r-"; *cf. u-wa-si-jo ko-wo* KN Ai115 "the son of U-wa-ta" (Dd1286).

Oe122

Za-ku-si-jo: Zakunsiōi, probably a man's name rather than the ethnic of Zakynthus; *cf. za-ku-si-ja*, describing chariot wheels, PY Sa787, Sa751.

Oe123

*A-*79:* the sign is probably *zu*; the name recurs at KN Ap633.2, possibly feminine despite the unusual ending; *cf.* the women's names *Ma-*79* PY En74.8, *Ke-pu* KN Ap639.13,]*wi-ja-na-tu* Ap769.2.

Oe125

ke-ra-me-wi[: *keramēwi* "for the potter."

Oe126

O-pe-ra-no-re: dat. of man's name, *Ophelānorei;* nom. *O-pe-ra-no* PY Jn658.9, Jn725.6.

Oe127

pa-we-a$_2$: Ventris *pharwea eu hepsēsomena* "cloths to be well boiled" (to remove the natural grease of the wool?) Palmer (1955: 44) *eu-epsēsomena* "requiring finishing" from Cypr. *ϵὐ-*, *ὐ-* (= *ἐπι-*) and *ἔπω* "care for, attend to."

Oe129

Didumōi newōi knaphēwei "for Didumos the new (young?) fuller."

Oe130

2 *pe-re-ke-we:* also PY Ae574; from *plekeus* = *πλοκεύς* "plaiter"? Less likely from *πέλεκυς* "axe-man."

5. MISCELLANEOUS

Ue611 (obverse)

4 *goblets*, 2 amphorae, 3 *pitchers*, 1 mixing-bowl, 4 ewers for pouring, 10 *buckets*, 30 ——, 5 *wicker baskets*, 10 small *storage-jars*, 2 *storage-jars*, 8 small tripod cauldrons, 7 ——.

This list of vessels is similar to some known at Knossos (e.g., Uc160, K 740) and Pylos (e.g., Ta641, Tn996). It differs, however, from these in that no pictograms of the vessels are added to the numerals, so that we have no check on the accuracy of the interpretation.

1 [*ku*]*-pe-ra: kupella*, a very likely conjecture by Ventris. The word is Homeric, rare elsewhere.

a-po-re-we: amphorēwe (dual), to be restored also in PY Tn996.3; *cf. a-pi-po-re-we* followed by a drawing of an amphora on KN Uc160.r1 = *amphiphorēwes*. The classical form with haplology is therefore proved to be of Mycenaean date, though the epic dialect preserved for metric reasons the fuller form recorded at Knossos.

pe-ri-ke: pelikes. The word is quoted by Pollux (x 67) from Cratinus, and mentioned by Athenaeus (xi 495) in the form *πελίκαι*; *cf.* also the derivative *πελίχνη*. The grammarians were by no means sure of the meaning (*κύλιξ*, *προχοΐδιον*, and *χοῦς* are all given as equivalents).

2 *ka-ra-te-ra:* apparently *krātēra*, but the accusative is surprising; possibly for a derivative *krātēriā?*

po-ro-ko-wo: prokhowoi, vessels with spouts for pouring.

a-ta-ra: cf. a-ta-ra-qe Wt501.1; possibly *antla*. A neuter *ἄντλον* is quoted from Pollux (i 92); the sense "bucket" is not recorded before Manetho. Perhaps "bailers."

3 *pa-ke-te-re:* also PY Vn879.4 and probably Vn46.6; *cf. pa-ke-te-ri-ja* Wt506.2, [*pa*]*-ke-te-ri-ja* PY Ta709.1, describing what appears to be a lamp or ladle. No plausible explanation: *sphaktēres* "sacrificial knives"?, *pāktēres* (from *πήγνυμι*)?

ka-na-to: also Wt502, Wt506.1; *cf. κάναστρον*, *κάνασθον*? Not *gnathoi* in some technical sense?

qe-ti-ja: probably a diminutive of *qe-to* in the next line and PY Ta641.2, where the pictogram shows a two-handled, narrow-mouthed vessel. Bennett proposes equating *qe-to* with *πίθος*, which is possible if we postulate a form **g^{w}hidh-*. This still allows the word to be connected with Lat. *fidelia*, but not with Old Icelandic *bīða*. But the spelling *e* for Greek *ι* strongly suggests that this is a loanword.

4 *ti-ri-po-di-ko: tripodiskoi*. The word is found at Pylos as a man's name, Cn599.8.

ka-ra-ti-ri-jo: cf. ka-ra-se-ti-ri-jo Wt507. The medial *-se-* on the sealing causes difficulty, since if it represents preconsonantal *-s-* we should expect *-si-*. It is hard to find a satisfactory interpretation; a

derivative of κεράννυμι does not explain the *-s-*; possibly from γράω (known to be Cypr., imper. γράσθι) "eat," *cf.* γράστις, and possibly κραστήριον "rack, manger" (Pollux).

What is the connection between the sealings and Ue611 obverse remains a mystery; possibly they were labels attached to baskets or boxes in which the vessels enumerated on the tablet were stored. Some of the readings are very doubtful.

Wt505

pa-pu₂-to: possibly *pamphurtoi* "miscellaneous."

Ue611 (reverse)

. . . . . ; 360 l. of *ti-* olives, 120 l. of olives, 240 l. of figs., 24 l. of wine, ...

The text seems to be a ration list of some sort, and is apparently unconnected with the obverse. An ideogram resembling **188* is found in Linear A (e.g., HT15, 56a, 123b). *pi-ro-qe-mo* may possibly be a personal name beginning *Philo-*. The modification of the OLIVE ideogram by various ligatures is unexplained.

6. FRAGMENTS AND VASES

X 1

]*-ta-na:* Ventris proposes *A*]*thānā antia*[*ei?*] "Athena accepts," *cf.* Od. 3.436.

X 508

pu-ka-ta-ri-ja: this word is characteristic of the Knossos textile tablets (L 471, L 474), and may be the full form of the abbreviation *pu* surcharged on the CLOTH ideogram. Possibly *puktalia* "a folded, double-thickness garment," dissimilated from *ptukt-* (*cf.* πτυκτός, πυκτίς). Ugaritic *mizrtm* is translated by Gordon "doubled garment, possibly for mourners."

te-pa₂-de: see on Oe107.

Z 202

]*e-ra:* Mühlestein (*Olympia in Pylos:* 14, Basel, 1955) interprets *elai*⟨*won*⟩ *katharon* "pure olive oil." But the form καθαρός might have been expected, and no legend on jars has yet been shown to be descriptive: *cf.* Björck, *Eranos* **52**: 120–124 (1954). Pugliese Carratelli (1954: 317) proposes *Hērāi*, but there is no means of knowing if the word is complete.

J. C.

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]ḍą Ge605.2

da-ra-⟨pa₂⟩ conj/C Ge603.1

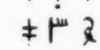
da-ṛą[Ge603.1

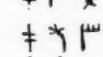
ro err/MLB Index Z 201

pa-ro (KN PY) Oe111.5

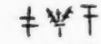
Pa-ṇą-ki Fo101.1

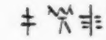
pa-se-ri-jo Oe121.2

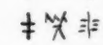

pą-mọ-se-we=qe Wt501


pa-pu₂-to Wt505

pa-ke-te-re (PY) Ue611.3


pa-ke-te-ri|ja (PY) Wt506


pa-ri-to var/V pa-pu₂-to Wt505


pą-ra-zą-ķi-ta-qe var/V da-ṛą[ ]ta-qe Ge603.1

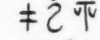
pą-ra[var/V da-ṛą[Ge603.1

pa-we-a₂ (KN) Oe127

pa-we-si var/M, pa-we-si[var/V pa-we-si-jo Oe111.2

pa-we-si-jọ Oe111.2

pa-ka (PY) Oe112.1

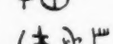

pą-ku-se-we=qe var pą-mọ-se-we=qe Wt501

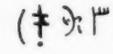
]-te var]ḍą Ge605.2

te-pa-i Oe107

te-pa₂-de X 508

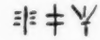
te-wa-ro Oe111.5 (*Te-wa-ro* M)

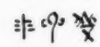

Te-ra-wo Au102.3


to-te-we-ja-se-we Oe106.1

to-so (KN PY) Fo101.15

to-so-ne Oe118.1


to-so-de (PY) Au609.r5


To-ti-ja Fo101.3

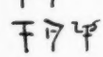
]-na var/V]ṛą-ķọ Ge605.1

Na-ke var/V Pu₂-ke Ge602.2 —605.2

Na-su-to Au102.2

Na-ta-ra-ma Fo101.6

ka]-na-ko Ge603.1 —605.3

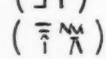

.]-di-wi-to var/V .]-sa-wi-to Au609.r2

di-ke var/MT I di-du-mo Oe129

di-du-mo Oe129

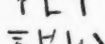
Di-we-se-ja Oe103.2

a-ro-[ma-ta conj/Palmer Ge602.1


a-ro-[Ge602.1

a-to-po-qo (PY) Au102.14 Oe117

*A-na-ra₃ conj A-na-*88 Fo101.2*


A-na-*88 Fo101.2

a-po-te-i Ge602.5 (*a-po-te-i*[V)

a-po-re-we (PY) Ue611.1

A-qi-ti-ja Oe103.3

a-qi-[conj a-[Oe104.2

a-ne-a₂ Fo101.1 (*A-ne-a₂ conj*)

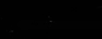
A-re-su-ti-jo Au609.r3

a-ti-ke-ne-ja Oe110.2

a-ti-ja[X 1 (*a-ti-ja-[e conj/V*)

A-pi-do-ra Oe[115.2] —124

A-pi-do-[ra Oe115.2


A-pi-e-ra Oe103.1

a-pi-ję-[Oe132

a-pi-mą-[var/MT I a-pi-ję-[Oe132

A-ke-re-u-te Ge606.2

A-ke-re-wi-jo Ge603.5 —604.4

a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i (PY) Fo101.10

a-ke-ti-ri-[Oe119.1 (*a-ke-ti-ri-[ja conj/Docs*)

a-ke[Ue611.r1

a-ta-ra Ue611.2 (Wt501=qe)

a-ta-ra=qe Wt501

A-ko-ro-ta (KN PY) Go610.2 Oe115.3

a-ko[var/M a-[Oe104.2

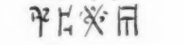
*A-zu prob for A-*79 Oe123*

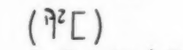
A-*79 (KN) Oe123

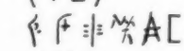
a-[Oe104.2 —115.1

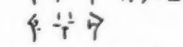
se-ri-no Ge604.2

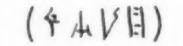
po-ro-ko-wo Ue611.2

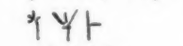

Me-ta-*47-wa Go610.1

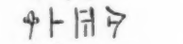

me-[*var/Docs pe-*[Ge603.r

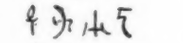

do-u-te-ke-e[Au609.r2


Do-qo-so Au609.2

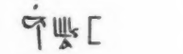

do-si-mi-ja (PY) [Ge606.1]

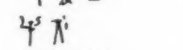

Mo-i-da Au102.8

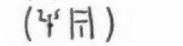

pa$_2$-da-wa-so Oe130

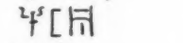

za-ku-si-jo Oe122

ẓọ Z 201 —207


qi-no-[Oe131

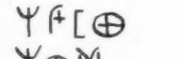

ne-wo (KN PY) Oe129

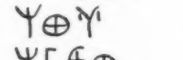

ne-wa (KN) [Oe111.3]

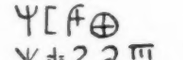

ne-[wa Oe111.3

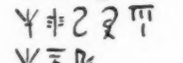
re-u-ka (KN) Ge603.1 —605.2 [.3.4].6 —606.3

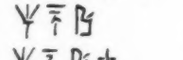
re-u-[ka Ge605.4

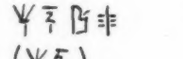

re-ka-sa Oe110.1

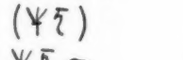

re-[u-ka Ge605.3

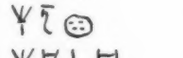

i-te-we-ri-di Oe121.1

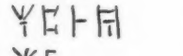

I-na-o (PY) Ge603.3 —605.6

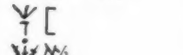

I-na-o-te Ge604.2

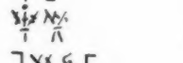

i-jo (KN) (Au102.1 = qe)

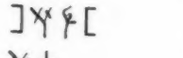

I-jo = qe Au102.1

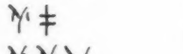

I-ta-da-wa Oe106.3


i-[Oe111.2


Pu$_2$-ke Ge602.2 —605.2 —608.4

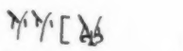

]-ni-do-[Z 203

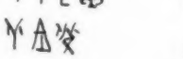

sa-pa (KN) Oe108.1

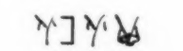

sa-sa-ma Ge602.3[.4]⟨.5.6⟩ —605[.2].6 —606.4 (*cf. SA*, ideogram)

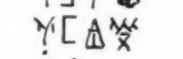
sa-sa-[ma Ge605.2

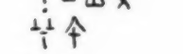
sa-pi-de (PY) Ge602.3.4 —605[.2].6


.]-*ṣạ*-wi-to Au609.r2


Ṣạ-ke-*mẹ*-no Au609.3

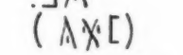

sa]-sa-ma Ge602.4

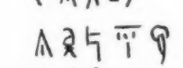

ṣạ-[pi-de Ge605.2


qo-zo Oe118.1

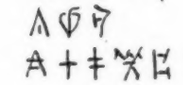
jo (KN PY) Ge602.1

.]-ti Au609.4


ti-je[*var/M pa-we-si-jọ Oe111.2*

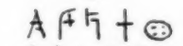

ti-ri-po-di-ko (PY) Ue611.4

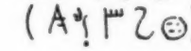
ti-tu-so Oe112.1

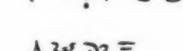

e-ro-pa-ke-ta Fo101.9 (*E-ro-pa-ke-ta conj*)

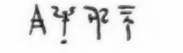
e-te-[Oe104.3

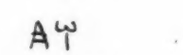
E-u-po-ro = qe Au102.4

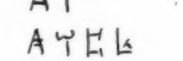

e-mọ-se-we = qe var ṗạ-mọ-se-we = qe Wt501


e-*ṇẹ*-me-na Ge603.2 (cf. *E*, ideogram)


e-ru Ge603.3 (e-ru⟨ta-ra⟩)

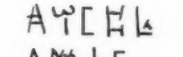

e-ru-ta-ra (PY) Ge602.4.5 —603.1⟨.3 e-ru⟩ —604.1.3.4 —605.2[.3].4 —606.5

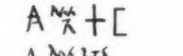

e-ru-[ta-ra Ge605.3

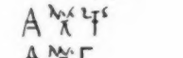

E-ke-ro[Au609.4

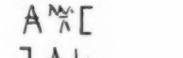
E-ke-ne Au102.4

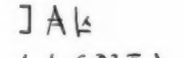
E-ke-[Au609.3

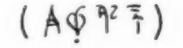

]e-ra Z 202

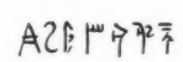

e-ṭụ-me-na var/B e-ṇẹ-me-na Ge603.2

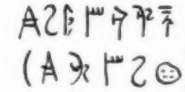

e-we-pe-se-so-me-na Oe127

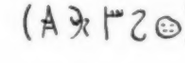

e-ku-se-we = qe var/V ṗạ-mọ-se-we = qe Wt501

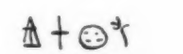

pi-ro-qe-mo Ue611.r1

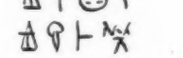

pi-ko-da-ke Oe128

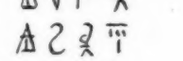

pi-we-ri-di Oe103.7

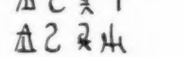

pi-we-ri-si Fo101.5

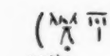

do]-si-mi-ja Ge606.1

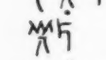

wo-ro-ne-ja Oe111.2

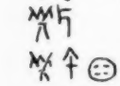

]wo-no Oe109.1

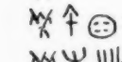

]ke-ro[*var/M Z 206*

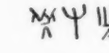

pa]*-ke-te-re var/Docs pa-ke-te-re Ue611.3*

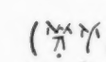

ḳẹ-di-wi-to var .]-sa-wi-to Au609.r2


Ke-po Ge602.5 —603.1 —605.5

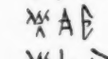

ke-zo-qe | te-we Wt503

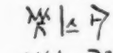

ke-re-no (PY) Au102.6 (*Ke-re-no conj*)

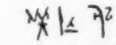

ḳẹ-sa-wi-to var .]-sa-wi-to Au609.r2

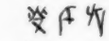

Ke-e-pe Ge604.1

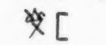
Ke-ra-so Fo101.4

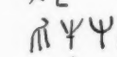

ke-ra-mẹ-wi[Oe125

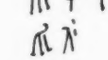

De-u-ki-jo=qe Au102.7


de[Au609.r1


Pu-i-re-wi Go610.4

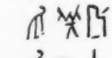

Pu-wo (KN) Ge603.7

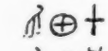

Pu-ke Ge604.5

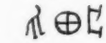

Pu-ke-o Ge603.2 (⟨*—604.5*⟩ *Docs*)

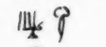
Pu-ka-ro Fo101.7

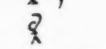
pu-ka-ta-ri-ja (KN) X 508

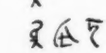

no-ko Ge603.5 (⟨ko-no⟩)

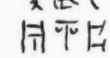

ri Go610.r

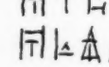

Ri-wi-jo Au609.1


Wa-a$_2$-ta Au102.7

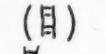

Wa-ra-pi-si-ro Au102.1

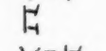

ja var/MT I Z 204

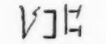

ta X 508

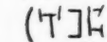

mi]-ta Ge605.2

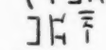
A]-ta-na conj/V X 1

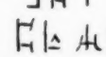

]-ta-na X 1

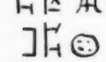

ta-ra-si-ja (KN PY) Oe110.1

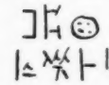

]ta-qe Ge603.1

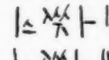

Ra-ke-da-no Ge603.4

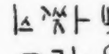

Ra-ke-da-no-re Ge604.3

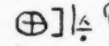

ka-]ṛạ-ḳọ Ge605.1

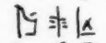

O-te-ra Oe106.2

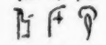

o-u-ko Oe108.2 —120

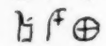

o-u-ka Oe111.1.3

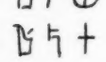

o-po-ro Ge602.1


o-no (KN PY) Oe108.1 —109

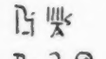

o-ri-ko Au102.9 (*O-ri-ko conj*)

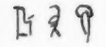

]o-ta Oe111.5


]o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro var/MT I]o-ta pa-ro te-wa-ro Oe111.5


O-ta-ki Fo101.8

o-pe-ro (KN PY) Ge604.1.2.3.4 (*cf.* pe-ro-ro .5)


O-pe-ra-no-re Oe126


o-pe-[Oe132

ọ-[Oe113.1

]-ki-ni-ja Oe111.4

]ki-ta-qe var/V]ta-qe Ge603.1

ma-ra]-tu-wo Ge602.3

Tu-mi-[Fo101.5

tu-ka-te-re Oe106.2

tu-ka-ta[var tu-ka-[Oe112.2

tu-ka-[Oe112.2

ko-ro-to Oe106.1

ko-re-te err/M ko-ro-to Oe106.1

ko-i-no Ge606.7 (*cf.* ko-no)

ko-wo (KN PY) Oe121.2

ko-no (KN PY) Ge602.5 —603.2.3.4⟨.5 no-ko⟩.6.7 —604.2 (*cf.* ko-i-no)

Ko-no-pu$_2$-du-ro=qe Au102.5

ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na (PY) Ge605.4.5 (*cf. KO*, ideogram)

ko-ri-ja-da-na Ge605[.2].3 (*cf. KO*, ideogram)

ḳọ-ṛị-[ja-da]-ṇạ Ge605.2

Ko-ma-ta Fo101.6

pe-ro-ro Ge604.5 (⟨*o-pe-ro*⟩ *Docs*)

Pe-se-ro (KN) ([*—603.r*] *conj*) Ge602.1 —605.1

pe-ru-si-nwa (KN) Oe111.1

pe-re-ke-we (PY) Oe130

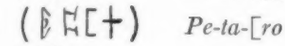
pe-qo-[var/V Pe-ṣẹ-ro Ge605.1

Pe-ke-u Ge602.3 —603.6 —605.3

pe-ri-ke Ue611.1

Pe-ri-ke-[re-we conj Pe-ri-ḳẹ[Au609.2

Pe-ri-ḳẹ[Au609.2

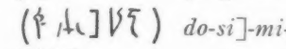

Pe-ta-[ro conj/C Fo101.7

Pe-ta[Fo101.7

]pe-ra Ue611.1 (*ku*]-*pe-ra conj/V*)

pe-ra-ko-no Oe118.2

pe-[Ge603.r ([*Pe-se-ro*] *conj*)


do-si]-*mi-jo conj/Docs Ge602.1*

]-mi-jo Ge602.1

ku]-mi-no Ge605.3

mi-ta Ge602.5 —605[.2].6 —606.6

]*mị-ta-qe conj Ge603.1*

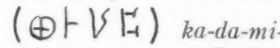
]-ze-ta X 508

ze-ra[*var/V da-ɾạ*[*Ge603.1*

We-i-we-sa Fo101.3

we[Oe108.3

ka-da-mi-ja Ge604.5


ka-da-mi-ta var/V ka-da-mi-ja Ge604.5

ka-na-to Ue611.3 Wt502 —506

ka-na-ko Ge602.4.5 —603.1[.1].2.3.6 —604.1.5 —605.1[.2].2.3[.3].4^{x2}.6 —606.3 (*cf.* KA&NA&KO, ideogram)

ka-na-pe-we Oe129

ka-na-[Oe119.2

Ka-sa-to (KN PY) Go610.3 Oe113.2

ka-ti-[Oe112.2

Ka-e-se-u Ge605.4

Ka-e-se-we Ge602.4

ka-ke-wi Oe121.2

Ka-ri-se-u (KN PY) (Au102.3 =qe)

Ka-ri-se-u=qe Au102.3

ka-ta-ro (KN) Z 202

ka-ra-te-ra Ue611.2

]ka-ra-to Ge603.1

ka-ra-se|ti-ri-jọ Wt507

ka-ra-ti-ri-jo Ue611.4

ka-ra-ḳọ Ge605[.1].6

ka-[Oe104.4

qe-to (PY) Ue611.4

qe-ti-ja Ue611.3 Wt504

Ma-no Fo101.2

ma-ri-ne[X 508

ma-ra-tu-wo Ge602.2[.3].4⟨.5.6⟩ [—605.2] —606.4 (*cf. MA*, ideogram)

ma-[ra-tu-wo Ge605.2

Ku-so (PY) Oe103.6

ḳu-pe-ra var/Docs]-*pe-ra Ue611.1*

ku-mi-na Ge605.2 (*cf. KU*, ideogram)

ku-mi-no Ge602.3 —605[.3].4.6 (*cf. KU*, ideogram)

ku-ka Oe121.1

*85-te-ra Oe128

*85-ja-to Au102.5

**188-pi-ro-qe-mo var*
**188 pi-ro-qe-mo*

PEOPLE AND ANIMALS

(**100* MAN) Au 102 609

UNITS OF MEASUREMENT

(**110* 1/240 dry volume, PT, ½ l.)

(**111* 1/60 dry volume, QT, 2 l.)

(**112* 1/10 dry volume, DM, 12 l.)

(**122*, **30*, **123*—unit dry volume, 120 l.)

Fractions used with

sa-sa-ma 'sesame' Ge 602 605 606

SA 'sesame' Ge 603 604

ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na 'coriander' Ge605

KO 'coriander' Ge 603 608

**123&KO* 'coriander' Ge606

ka-na-ko re-u-ka 'white safflower' Ge 603 605 606

ma-ra-tu-wo 'fennel' Ge 602 605 606

MA 'fennel' Ge 603 604

ku-mi-no 'cumin' Ge 602 605

KU 'cumin' Ge 603 604 606

. . . . . .

(**111* 1/18 liquid volume, QT, 2 l.)

(**113* 1/3 liquid volume, LM, 12 l.)

(**130*, **131*, **134*—unit liquid volume, 36 l.)

. . . . . .

(**115* 1/1440 weight?, DR, 21 g.?)

(**116* 1/120 weight, OZ, 250 g.) *no occurrence at Mycenae*

(**117* 1/30 weight, LB, 1 kg.)

(**145* WOOL unit = 3 LB, 3 kg.)

(**118* unit weight, TALENT, 30 kg.) *no occurrence at Mycenae*

Fractions used with

se-ri-no 'celery' Ge604

ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra 'red safflower' Ge 602 603 604 605 606

**128* KA&NA&KO '(red) safflower' Ge608

. . . . . .

(*PE*) *used with*

mi-ta 'mint' Ge 602 605 606

. . . . . .

cf. E(-ne-me-na), *DE*, used after ko-no (*nn*) Ge 603 604 606 (*cf.* 602)

BY DRY MEASURE

(**122* OLIVE) Ue611

(**122* OLIVE+*TI*) Ue611

(**30* FIGS) Ue611

(**123* CONDIMENT) Ge 603 608

(**123&KO* CONDIMENT&*KO* 'coriander') Ge606

BY LIQUID MEASURE

(**130* OLIVE OIL) Fo101

(**131* WINE) Ue611

(**134*) Go610

BY WEIGHT OR IN UNITS

(**145* WOOL) Oe103 104 106 107 108 110 111 112 113 115 118 120 121 122 123 124 126 127 128 129 130

UNIT UNKNOWN

(**188*) Ue611

VESSELS

(CUP]ka-ra-to? '*kalathos* basket'?) Ge 602 603 604 605

IDEOGRAPHIC USES OF PHONETIC SIGNS

SA (-sa-ma) Ge 603 604

E(-ne-me-na) Ge603

DE Ge 602 603 604 606

KO(-ri-a$_2$-da-na) Ge 603 608

MI Ge603

PE Ge 602 605 606

MA(-ra-tu-wo) Ge 603 604

KU(-mi-no) Ge 603 604 606

PHONETIC SIGNS IN IDEOGRAPHIC LIGATURES

**122* OLIVE+*TI* Ue611

**123&KO* Ge606

**128* KA&NA&KO Ge608

INDICES

I. MYCENAEAN GREEK WORDS TRANSCRIBED

(The accepted readings of the Mycenae tablets appear here in Roman type; variant readings, conjectures, and words from Knossos or Pylos which are cited in the commentaries appear in Italic type.)

a-, 107
A-ke-re-u, (PY) 110
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A-na-*88, **Fo101**, 107
a-ne-a$_2$ (*A-ne-a*$_2$), **Fo101**, 97, 107
A-pi-do-ra (A-pi-do-[ra), **Oe115** –**124**, 110
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a-pi-do-[, *var/MT I* **Oe115**
A-pi-e-ra, **Oe103**
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a-pi-ma-[, *var* **Oe132**
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a-ta-ra=qe, **Wt501**, 111
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a-ti-ja[, **X 1**
a-ti-ke-ne-ja, **Oe110**
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Di-we-se-ja, **Oe103**
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E-ke-[, **Au609**
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